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EL HAMME

Discovery of Stone Seats

IN the course of a preliminary clearance in 1935 of the site for a proposed hotel at el Hamme Hot Springs part of a row of basalt seats was discovered by the concessionaire amongst debris of the Roman and Arab periods.

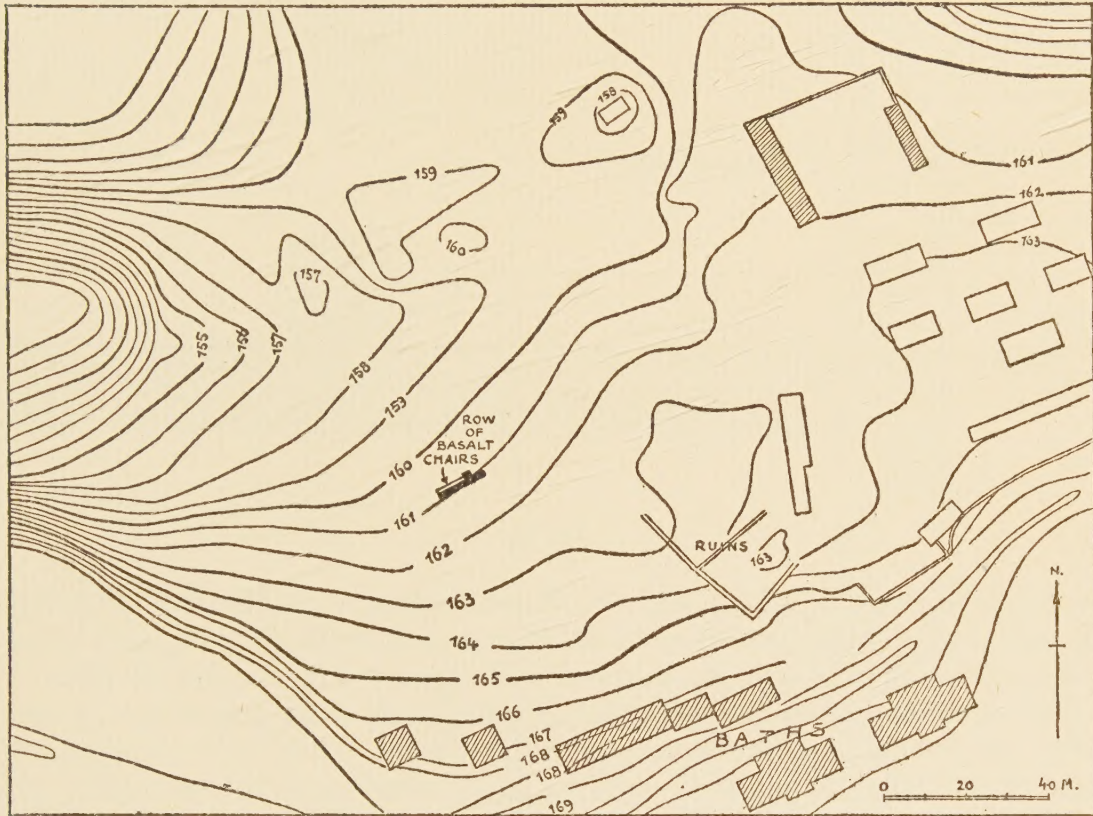


FIG. 1.

The site is on slightly rising ground nearly half way between Tell el Bāni (on which a sixth-century synagogue was discovered in 1932) and the ruins of the Roman baths near the spring called el Maqla (Plan, Fig. 1). A seat belonging to the row was also found re-used as a corner stone in a later wall near by (Pl. XII, 1).

The seats were cleared by the writer during February 1936 (Pl. XI, 1 and 2).

It was found that the row consisted of ten separate seats or chairs, each a

single block of basalt, set side by side to form a bench 7.10 m. long, running east and west (Plan, Fig. 2). Eight of the seats, though slightly shifted by earthquake, were in position, but the second from the west end had been re-used as noted above, while the third had been tipped on to its front and placed sideways to fill the gap. In its present position it has evidently been used as a threshold in a later construction, to which belong two rough masonry walls that run northwards at right angles from the east and west

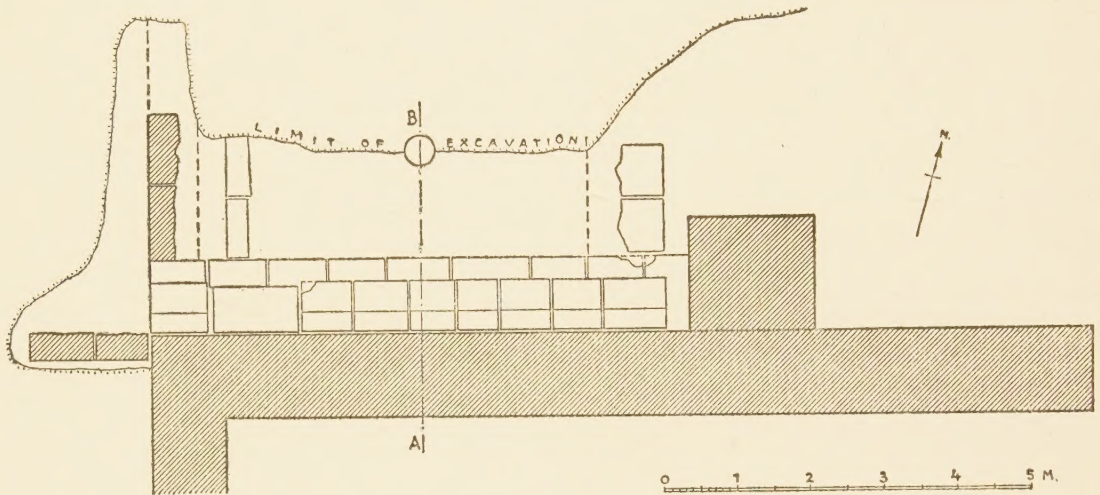


FIG. 2.

ends of the row (Pl. XI, 4), and also the remains of a column shaft that was found standing in the area so enclosed. It seems that in the Arab period a house was built on the site with its southern wall supported on the row of seats.

The seats themselves rest on a line of nine basalt slabs, projecting 35 cm. from the front edge of the seats and forming a ledge for the feet. The projection of this ledge is provided with the same moulding as the seats (Fig. 3).

The seats abutted at the back on a wall 1.15 m. thick and 12.9 m. long (Pl. XI, 3) of which the west end corresponds with the west end of the row of seats. At the east end of the seats a square pier is built against the north face of the wall (Pl. XI, 1). At its west end the wall returns at right angles to the south. On the same line a foundation of well-dressed stones projects northwards from below the west end of the seats.

Masons' marks were found on three of the stones forming the foot-rest below the seats (Pl. XII, 2, 3, 4). On the second stone from the west was the Greek letter A cut in the front of the stone below the moulding. On the fourth stone was +O in a similar position and on the fifth the letters AA

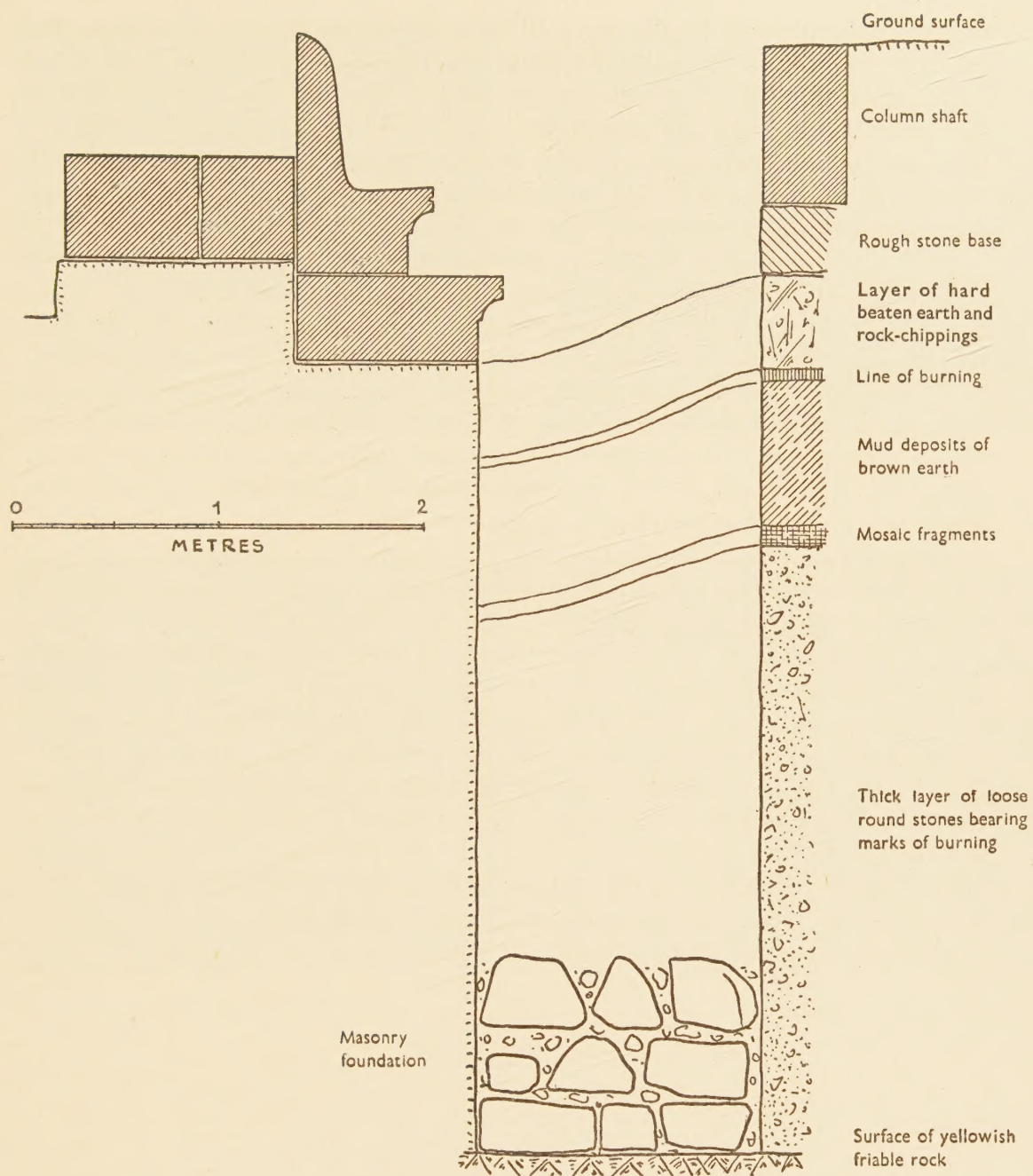


FIG. 3. Section A—B.

cut on the uppermost projecting surface of the moulding. (Compare the masons' marks in the theatre at el Hammé, *JPOS*, Vol. XV, p. 120.)

The seats themselves, which are reminiscent of some stone seats found at Nablus in 1927 (*PEFQSt.*, 1929, pp. 104 ff.), though of superior workmanship, and the regular masonry walls associated with them, appear to belong to the Roman period. In later times the Arabs re-used some of the Roman material in a rough and irregular way. It is noticeable that the walls or foundations throughout, including those of the Roman period, are laid on a layer of hard beaten earth and stones, and not on the solid rock.

In a sounding carried down to a depth of 5.50 m. in front of the seats, the rock was reached (Fig. 3). The surface layer, which varies from 1.10 m. to 1.60 m. in depth, includes both undisturbed Roman masonry and debris of the Arab occupation. Beneath this is a layer of hard beaten earth and chips 45 cm. thick, made to carry foundations. Then comes a thin burnt layer 5 cm. thick. Below this is a deposit of mud or brown earth and immediately below it were found some small fragments of fine coloured glass mosaic, lying face downwards as if they had fallen from a wall or ceiling. From this point to the bottom of the sounding was a continuous deposit of loose earth and rounded pebbles, with marks of burning.

The rock reached at the bottom of the trench is of very soft, friable character and yellowish in colour. Part of a coarse masonry foundation was discovered laid on it running north and south standing to a height of nearly one metre.

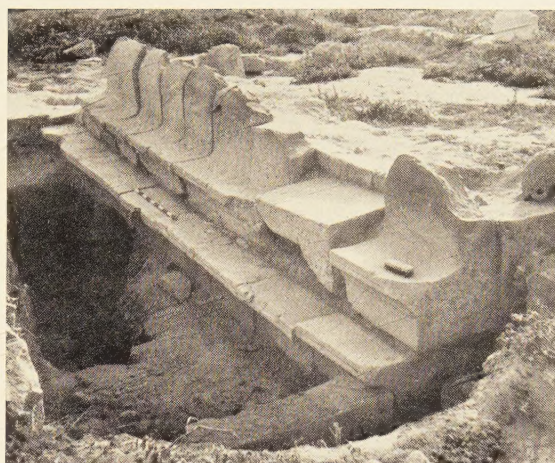
No significant objects were found in the sounding. A terra-cotta lamp of the common Byzantine type bearing geometrical moulding on the top was the only object found (Pl. XII, 5). It was found at the bottom of the first layer.

A few Arab potsherds were found in the surface layer, while Roman sherds, mostly of the round-ribbed class, were met with throughout.

N. MAKHOULY.



1. Stone seats, looking south-west; square pier in foreground



2. Stone seats, looking north-east

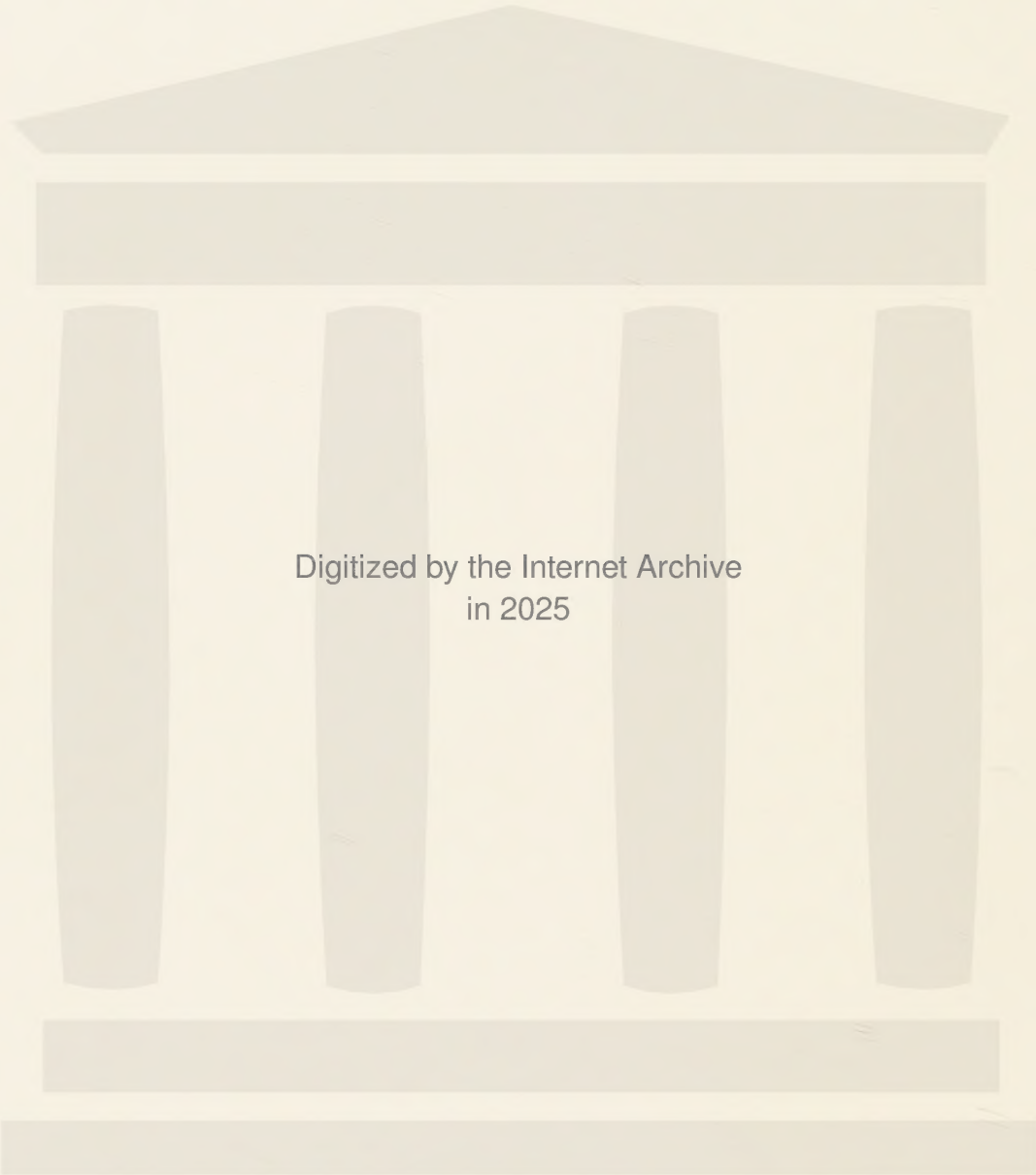


3. Wall at the back of the seats



4. Rough late wall at right angle to seats, west end

STONE SEATS, EL HAMME



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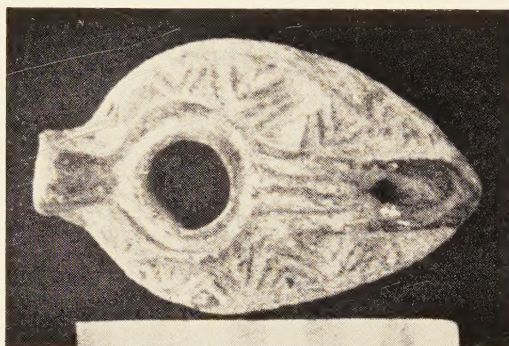
1. Seat re-used as corner-stone in later wall



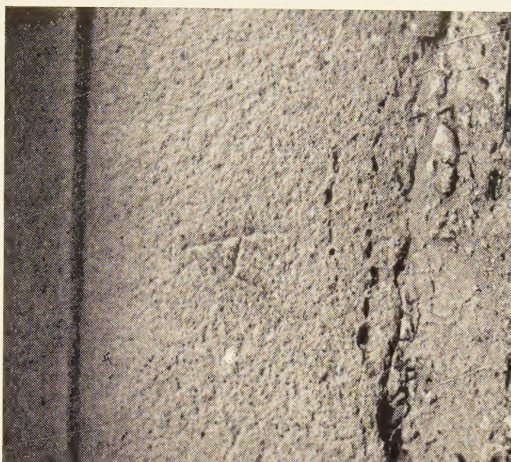
2. Mason's mark



3. Mason's mark



5. Terra-cotta lamp
STONE SEATS, EL HAMME



4. Mason's mark

THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

The Plan of the Constantinian Church

THE plans and section that illustrate this Note are the results of an attempt to reconstruct, from the facts discovered in 1932 and 1934 and already published,¹ the arrangement of the Constantinian church.

The soundings made in 1932 to the west of the church disclosed the existence of a considerable area of paving formed of large hard limestone flags. No evidence was found showing how far this paving extended eastwards and westwards. But of that length (some 16 m. east to west), of which three fragments were seen, the eastern limit is at a distance of 35.50 and the western 51.5 m. from the western wall of the Constantinian church found in 1934. It was evident that the paving continued beyond the areas of the soundings still farther eastwards as well as westwards.

The paving over the length discovered sloped slightly upwards from west to east, there being a difference of some 13 cm. between the levels of the paving to the east and to the west. The mean depth of the paving below a datum line representing the floor-level of the present Narthex measures about 1.31 m.

In 1934 soundings in the guard-room now occupying the northern end of the Narthex brought to light a mosaic pavement at a depth of about 1.58 m. below the datum. The pavement is terminated eastwards by the bottom riser of a flight of two steps leading to a landing paved with mosaics. This landing from the riser of the top step to the western wall of the Constantinian church is 5.20 m. wide. It is suggested that the mosaic pavement at the foot of the steps is the paving of that part of the Constantinian atrium that was open to the sky, and that the landing to the east of it is the eastern continuation of a colonnaded and roofed passage-way that surrounded the open part on its four sides. The level of the mosaic paving of the open area is about 0.27 m. lower than the mean level of the stone paving to the west, while the level of the landing is about 1.18 m. below the datum.

No evidence was found indicating how far the atrium extended westwards. The position of the west wall of the atrium as shown on the plan (Fig. 1) is suggested for the following reasons: The axis of the northern doorway that led into the church does not correspond with that of the aisle at the end of which it is set. A stone found at the top of the steps leading from the open part of the atrium up to the landing and opposite to the southern jamb of the doorway,² seems likely to be what remains of a stylobate that carried the

¹ *QDAP*, III, pp. 1 ff.; *QDAP*, V, pp. 75 ff.

² See *QDAP*, V, Pl. XLVIII.

atrium's colonnade. If the northern face of that stone corresponded with the northern face of the plinth of a base, then the axis of the door is found to correspond with that of an intercolumniation between a column set on a base standing opposite to the southern jamb of the door and a respond or corner pier set on the axis of the northern colonnade of the church. This arrangement allows a colonnaded passage-way on the north side of the atrium of about the same width as that on the east side. The plan assumes that the corner piers of the atrium were, as suggested by the Rev. Père Vincent,¹ those piers that now stand at the 'crossing' of the present church.

Four intercolumniations of the width suggested would allow of a central intercolumniation, for the atrium's eastern colonnade, of the greater width required by the wider central doorway leading into the nave.

On the northern and the southern sides of the atrium there are not likely, owing to the fall in the hill-side from south to north, to have been any entrances, and there would have been no need for a wider central intercolumniation. Five intercolumniations of the same width as that proposed for the one that faced the north aisle entrance would have produced an atrium of a length less than its width, which is improbable; seven would give an atrium rather longer than its width, and, in the suggested reconstruction, that number has been adopted.² This would place the western wall of the atrium at a distance of about 5.50 m. from the nearest point at which the stone paving to the west of the atrium has been discovered. That that paving extends farther eastwards is, as already stated, clear. If the line representing the slope upwards from west to east of that paving is prolonged eastwards till it reaches the suggested position of the atrium's western wall, it meets that wall at about the level of the mosaic pavement that formed the floor of the colonnaded passage-way that ran round the open part of the atrium.

The stone-paved area to the west of the atrium is bordered on its northern limit by a curb of stonework the top of which is some centimetres above the level of the paving. The edge of this curb corresponds with a prolongation of the line of the southern faces of the bases upon which stood the columns of the nave's northern colonnade.

It seems then, that, to the west of the atrium, there was a paved approach some 9 m. wide bordered on each side by a pavement at a slightly higher level.

The alignments of the four colonnades shown in Fig. 1 do not exactly corre-

¹ P. P. L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, O.P., *Bethléem, Le sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914, p. 96.

² Perhaps six intercolumniations are more probable, for six would have given an approximately square area for the atrium, just as the area occupied by the nave and aisles is approximately a square.

THE PLAN OF THE CONSTANTINIAN CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

spond with those in the existing church. In the latter the distances from the outer north and south walls to the axes of the northernmost and southernmost colonnades measure 3·75 m.; while the distances between the axes of the colonnades that flank the nave and those of the colonnades north and south of them measure 4·22 m., leaving a width of 10·25 m. between the axes of the nave colonnades. This setting out dates from the time of Justinian. His alterations resulted in slightly widening the nave. The original line of the nave colonnades may be inferred from the remains of the mosaics of the earlier church. In the south-east corner of the nave is a border of mosaic that fixes the position of the southern nave colonnade some centimetres north of the present line. The colonnade dividing the southern aisle into two seems to have been set on a line halfway between the wall and the nave colonnade. The reason for this conclusion is that, if it be so placed, it allows a border to the north of the mosaic panels equal in width to the border that still exists between these panels and the southern wall.

Fig. 1 shows a wall at the eastern end of the nave traversing the church from north to south and dividing the nave from the octagonally planned east end. That a wall existed here is suggested by considerations of stability, by the likelihood that there were rectangular responds to the nave colonnades both at the eastern and western ends (Constantinian capitals for such responds exist in the present church), and by the difficulty of planning a connexion in any other form between the nave and the east end. The western face of the wall is placed on a line, running north and south, corresponding with that of a rock-cut face found at the east end of the southern aisle. The wall as shown on Fig. 1 is pierced by three openings: a central opening of a width commensurate with that of the steps that were discovered in 1934 leading up eastwards from the nave, and two smaller openings from the aisles placed opposite to those in the nave's western wall. That the octagon on its north-western and south-western sides was enclosed by a wall is evident from the foundations that were found dividing the mosaic floor that covered the triangular spaces outside the octagon from the mosaic band that formed the floor of the latter. Entrances are shown in each of these walls, while others have been provided for the small rooms to the north and south.

The centre of the circular opening in the octagon is not set upon a prolongation of the nave's axis, but nearly 30 cm. to the north. It is also to be noted that the axis of the steps leading from the nave up to the octagonal east end does not correspond with that of the nave, but is also nearly 30 cm. to the north of it.

The diameter of the octagon is 16·50 m., considerably less than that of the

E. T. RICHMOND

Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. The roof of the latter up till the eighteenth century was of timber and conical in shape. There could be no difficulty in providing an octagonally-planned conical roof with a lantern at the top for the church at Bethlehem, the timbers being set at 45° or at a steeper slope. For the roof of the nave a slope of 30° would have been enough. The aisles could have been covered with sloping roofs as are those in the present church, devised, as in the present church, so as to allow a clerestory to the nave. The octagon could have been lighted by a series of windows set on the same level as those of the nave clerestory.

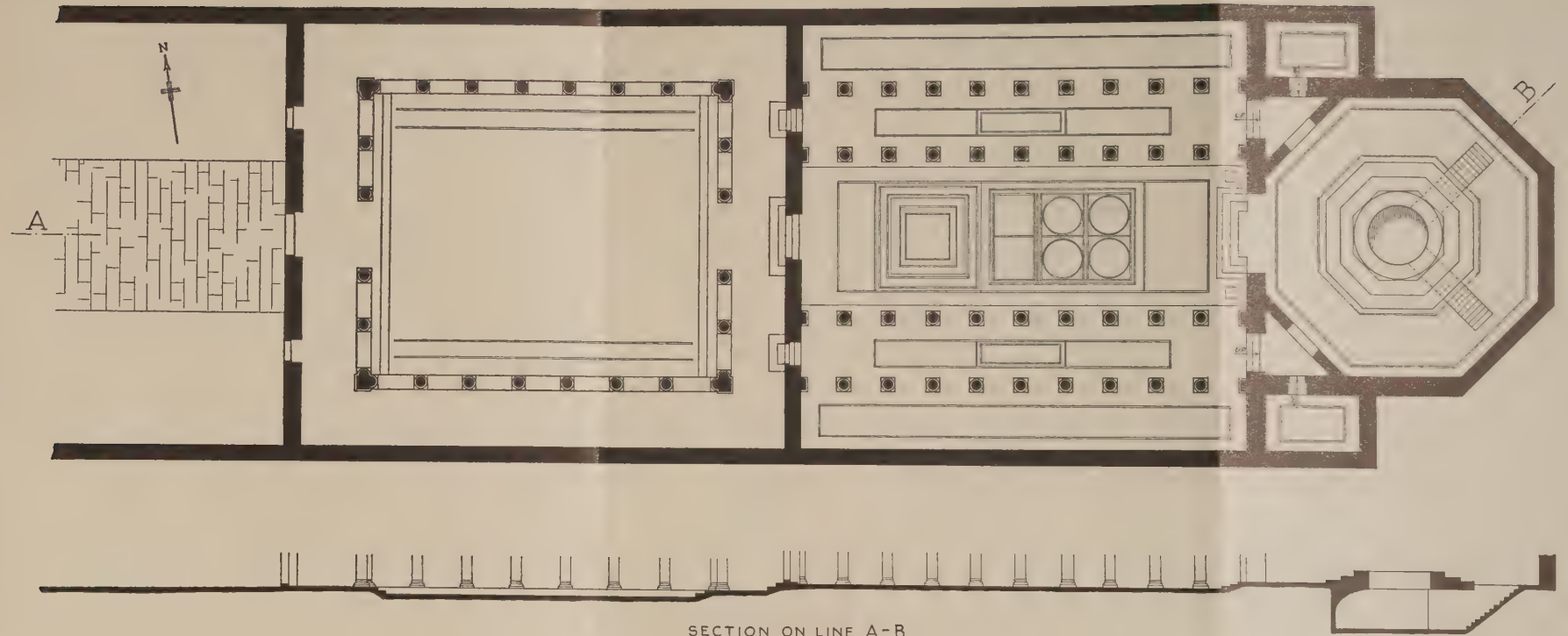
No architectural evidence exists to show how, in the earlier church, access was provided to the grotto. The accompanying plan illustrates no more than a structurally possible arrangement of two flights of steps, which follow approximately the same lines as those of the lower parts of the existing entrances.

The suggested plan is for the most part based upon measurements taken from plans prepared by Mr. Harvey in the course of his structural survey.¹

E. T. RICHMOND.

¹ W. Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity*, London, 1935.

THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY
SUGGESTED PLAN OF THE CONSTANTINIAN CHURCH



0 5 10 15 20
SCALE OF METRES

FIG. 1

THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

The alterations carried out by Justinian

PRIOR to the soundings made in 1932 by the Department of Antiquities in the area occupied formerly by the atrium of the church, and to those made by Mr. Harvey during his structural survey, it was already recognized that the present western wall of the narthex and the triapsidal or eastern part of the church date from the time of Justinian.

The investigations of 1932¹ and of 1934² threw further light on the character and extent of his work.

When, in 1934, soundings disclosed the remains of the original western Constantinian wall³ situated on a line one intercolumniation to the east of the present wall it became evident that the latter had also been constructed by Justinian.

In the same year were found parts of the stylobate of the atrium together with the south-east angle-pier, its base, and its capital, and the next column westwards, without its capital, but with its base: all elements that formed part of the colonnade that surrounded the atrium.

These remains are encased in walling belonging to the Armenian convent, which has encroached on the atrium on its southern side. The angle-pier and the neighbouring column are set on foundations of which the northern, eastern, and western continuations had already been discovered by the Department of Antiquities in 1932.

The intercolumniation between the angle-pier and the column is such as to indicate that there were nine intercolumniations for the southern and northern colonnades of the atrium, while, on the western and eastern sides, seven may be postulated.

In Mr. Harvey's opinion these remains of the atrium belong either to the same period as that of the narthex or to a slightly later one.

Fig. 1 indicates the size of the atrium (*A*) and the position in it of the angle-pier (*B*) and its neighbouring column (*C*). Measured from the surface of the stylobate the height of the base is 0.415 m.; and of the capital 0.40 m., making a total, for base, shaft, and capital, of 4.555 m. This height is less by 0.815 m. than that of the Constantinian columns that form the colonnades

¹ R. W. Hamilton in *QDAP*, III, pp. 1 ff.

² W. Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity*, London, 1935.

³ E. T. Richmond in *QDAP*, V, pp. 75 ff.

in the body of the church. Pls. XIII and XIV, 1 illustrate the base and the capital of the angle-pier, and the shaft and base of the column.

The slabs of stone that now pave the nave (covering as they do in part the plinths of the bases) are set at a slightly higher level than that of the floor originally laid in association with the nave colonnades as they now stand (Pl. XIV, 3). The original Justinian floor-level of the nave and aisles coincided with the joint between the plinths of the bases and the blocks of stone upon which the bases are set, thus allowing the whole of the plinths to be visible. As stated in this *Quarterly* (Vol. V, p. 79) describing the remains of the earlier church found in 1934, the blocks of stone that carry the colonnades stand on longitudinal walls or stylobates. Since the columns themselves are Constantinian in date¹ and the mosaic pavement of the earlier church was found at an average depth of 0.705 m. (the actual depth, owing to subsidences and bulgings, varies at different points between 0.815 m. and 0.670 m.) below the level of the Justinian floor, it is evident that Justinian's alterations included a considerable raising of the floor-level. This necessitated resetting the colonnades at a correspondingly higher level, constructing the stylobate walls to carry them, and cutting through the earlier mosaic floor for the purpose of building these walls.

The height of the outer walls of the northern and southern aisles was conditioned, both in the earlier church and in the church as altered by Justinian, by the height of the colonnades above floor-level. It was therefore necessary at least to heighten the outer walls and to reconstruct their window-openings which are situated in the upper part of the walls. Whether or no the outer walls were reconstructed throughout their lengths, from floor-level upwards, their extension westwards and the discovery of a doorway (Pl. XV) of Justinian's time at the western end of the northern wall shows that in the westward extension they are wholly of the Justinian period.

The original floor-level of the Justinian church may still be seen in the triapsidal part of the church where the paving slabs still bear the correct relationship with the plinths of the bases (Pl. XIV, 2). Many of these slabs may indeed be the original ones. Where they abut the external walls they are grooved for the purpose of receiving the marble casing which covered the walls and has since disappeared.

Except for the area over the Grotto of the Nativity there was, in the Justinian reconstruction, one floor-level common to the whole church.

The question arises: What was the floor-level over the grotto?

¹ P. P. L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, O.P., *Bethléem, Le sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914, pp. 74 f., 97 and Pl. X.

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY; JUSTINIAN'S ALTERATIONS

In the course of soundings made in that area the remains of a semicircular structure were found. The centre of the semicircle lies approximately on a line running north and south between the eastern faces of the plinths of the bases belonging to the two easternmost piers of the crossing. The remains of this structure are shown on Fig. 1 at *E.E*¹ and at *F.G* and on Pl. XVI, 1. Those at *F* and *G* are foundations. Those at *E* are represented in section in Fig. 2. Where the stones constituting these remains traverse the stairways leading down to the grotto they form lintels over these stairways. The level of the soffits of these lintels corresponds with that of the paving to the north and south of the semicircularly planned steps that lead down into the grotto. The level of this paving, which is of the Justinian period, is 0.26 m. above the mean level of the octagonally planned mosaic flooring that covered this part of the earlier church, and is flush with the tread of the topmost step of the stairways to the grotto. The topmost of the risers to these steps form semicircles that spring from the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of the plinths of the eastern piers of the crossing, and from the north-western and south-western corners of those of the columns to the east of the stairways. There is therefore a very complete association between the paving, the steps to the grotto, the position of the piers and columns, and the stonework semicircle found in 1934. It may be concluded that all these features belong to one conception and are of the Justinian period.

The stones forming the semicircle are moulded, curved and cleanly dressed on the outer faces only. On their inner faces they are unmoulded and cut in straight lengths. This suggests that their outer face alone was meant to remain visible and that they were intended to form a retaining wall to an area raised two or three steps and extending over the grotto. It is suggested that they may have carried a balustrade of marble posts and panels bordering the raised area.

Although this area was terminated at the east by a semicircle, no evidence was found showing the form and the extent of it westwards. It cannot, however, have formed a complete circle because that shape would have necessitated the destruction of a part, which still remains intact, of the earlier circular structure of the Constantinian period. It would seem therefore that, in its westward extension, the form of the raised area was rectangular in plan,

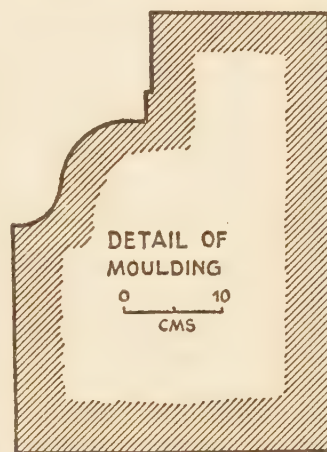


FIG. 2.

though it is not known how far it extended westwards. If, however, the purpose was, as seems likely, architecturally to mark, on the upper level, the grotto that lay below, there would be no object in extending it westward beyond the then westward limit of the grotto. No architectural evidence has been found proving that either in the Constantinian or in the Justinian period the grotto extended westward as far as it does to-day, nor that during either period there was an entrance to the grotto from the west. Had there been in the Justinian period a western entrance at the end of the nave, it is unlikely that it would have been of a width less than that (about 1.40 m.) of the northern and southern entrances, and it is probable that it would have been situated on the axis of the nave. If the present northern limit of the grotto follows approximately the original rock-face there is not sufficient space between the line of the church's axis and the face of the rock to allow of a western entrance of that width. The questions, then, as to the westward limit of the grotto, a western entrance to it, and the westward extension of the raised area above discussed, must for the time being remain unanswered.

Fig. 3 shows a hypothetical restoration based on the assumptions that the grotto extended westwards nearly as far as the western piers of the crossing, and that there were a few steps up from the nave to the raised area to the east of it, but no steps downwards from the nave to the grotto.

The upper surface of the circular structure associated with the mosaic flooring of the earlier church and described in this *Quarterly* (Vol. V, p. 75 f.), and the upper surface of the stones forming the Justinian semicircle are both on the same level, viz. 0.40 m. above the Justinian floor-level. The space enclosed by the earlier circle is blocked with plaster concrete. It is an open question whether this blocking was done during the Justinian reconstruction to provide a bottom for paving the whole of the raised area or whether he left the original circle unfilled so as still to allow a view from above into the grotto.

In 1934 a square opening some 0.70 m. wide was discovered at *K* (Fig. 1 and Pl. XVI, 2). This opening lies to the east of the semicircular structure above discussed and to the north of the main axis of the church. It gives access to a large cistern and is surrounded by a plastered channel (K^1) the outer edge of which is bordered by stones (K^2) cut and set to form a circle. The top surface of these stones is 0.11 m. above the level of the earlier mosaic flooring, which has been cut through to allow the stones to be laid. The channel has a sharp slope and is provided with an outflow (K^3) on its north-eastern rim. Its inner plastered edge is shaped roughly on an octagonal plan

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY; JUSTINIAN'S ALTERATIONS

having a diameter of about 1.90 m. measured from face to face of the octagon and of about 2.10 m. from angle to angle.

The octagonal font now placed at the western end of the southern aisle has a diameter from angle to angle of 1.75 m. Is it possible that as shown in Fig. 3 its original position may have been over this cistern and that it may be a well-head that was used also for baptismal purposes?¹

Within the area enclosed by the eastern apse a line of stonework roughly following the curve of the apse was found at H (Fig. 1). The upper surface of this stonework is about 0.25 m. above the Justinian floor-level. Its edge is 1.50 m. from the wall of the apse. It would seem likely that this stonework formed the masonry core for supporting the lowest tier of marble-covered seats round the apse. The rock-level at this point was found at a depth of about 0.20 m. below the Justinian floor-level.

Among other discoveries made in 1934 was that of curved walling at MMM (Fig. 1 and Pl. XVII); also of a patch of irregular paving at N (Fig. 1 and Pl. XVI, 1) to the east of the stone circle L (belonging to the earlier Church) found over the grotto.

Since the construction of the curved walling involved the destruction of mosaics belonging to the earlier church, it is clear that it is later than the latter; and since the walling bears no relationship either to the earlier church or to the church as altered by Justinian, it may be concluded that it was built at some date between the construction of the earlier church and the final Justinian alterations. These sections of curved walling appear to relate to some scheme of reconstruction that was ultimately abandoned.

The patch of irregular paving (at N, Fig. 1; see also Pl. XVI, 1) is 0.06 m. higher than the main level of Justinian's floor. It abuts the stone circle of the earlier church. If the supposition is correct² that that stone circle was, in the earlier church, surrounded by two octagonally planned steps, these in turn being surrounded by an octagonally planned band of mosaic, and since the surface of the paving is 0.01 m. higher than the upper step, it follows that the eastern side of the octagonally planned steps must have been cut away to allow this paving to be laid. In the circumstances it is justifiable to relate this paving also to some scheme of reconstruction that was not proceeded with.

¹ This might perhaps be the well on the north side of the grotto and on the left side of the sacrarium, which is referred to from the ninth century onwards in some itineraries as the well into which fell the star guiding the Magi (P. D. Baldi, O.F.M., *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1935, pp. 128, 133, 135, 138 f., 146, 161, 169, 185) and in others as the well from which David drank (*ibid.*, p. 144).

² *Quarterly, Department of Antiquities*, Vol. V, p. 76.

E. T. RICHMOND

A stairway was found at the eastern end of the nave leading downwards from north to south. Its construction necessitated cutting through the steps that, in the earlier church, led up from the nave-level to that of the area to the east of it. This stairway can hardly be earlier than the medieval period. It was not possible to investigate it fully owing to the necessity of filling in the excavations in time for the Christmas celebrations at the end of 1934.

E. T. RICHMOND.



1. Angle pier of atrium (encased in walling of Armenian convent)

2. Column of atrium

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



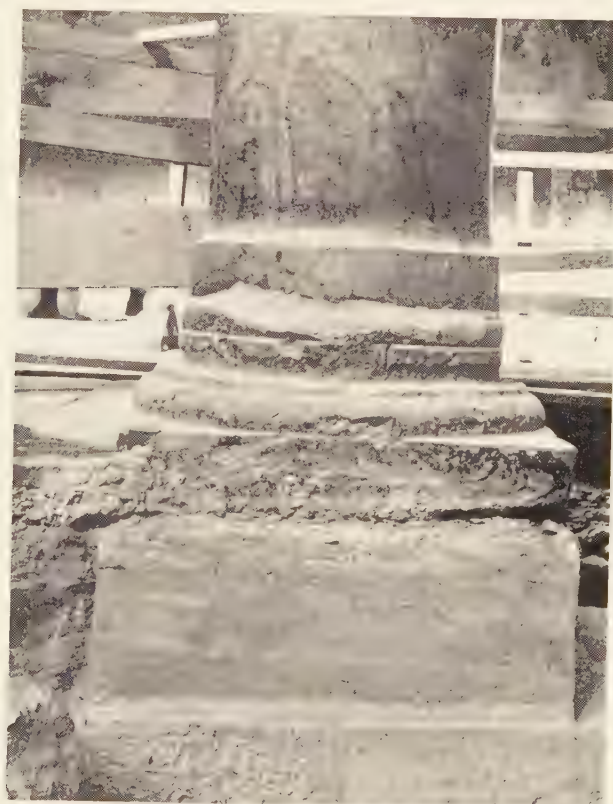
angle pier

1. Stylobate of atrium

column



2. Base of column in transept showing floor level flush with joint between column base and supporting stone



3. Base of column in nave, showing floor level raised

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



Door-way at the western end of the northern wall of the church
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



1. Irregular paving (N on plan) and part of semicircle (E on plan)



2. Cistern mouth (K¹⁻³ on plan)
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



Curved walling in north apse of transept (MM on plan)
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM

PLAN DRAWN BELOW WINDOW LEVEL.



EASTERN END OF THE CHURCH
SHOWING SUGGESTED RESTORATIONS.

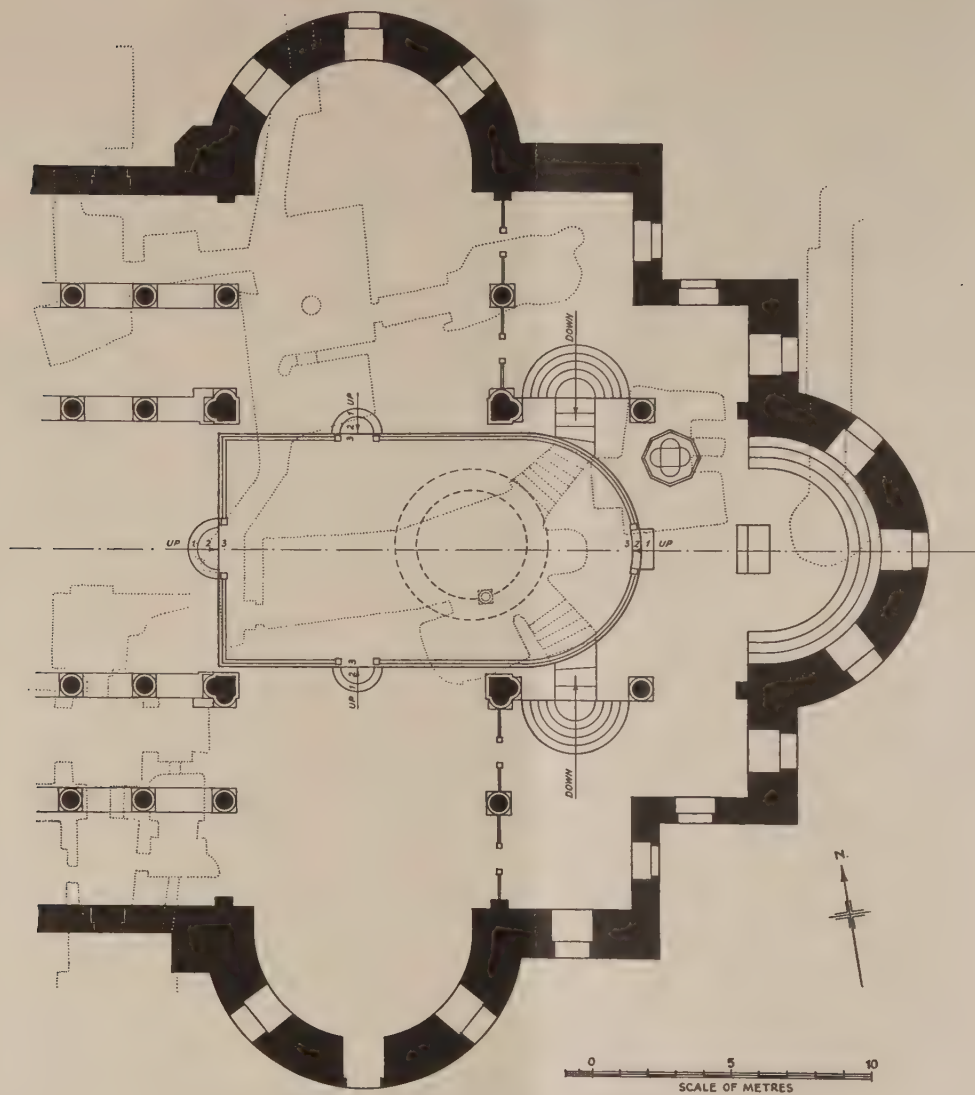


FIG. 3

AN EARLY BYZANTINE SYNAGOGUE NEAR TELL ES SULTĀN, JERICHO

IN the course of digging trenches for planting banana trees near Tell es Sultān (ancient Jericho) a mosaic pavement was discovered. The landlord reported the discovery to the Department of Antiquities, who had the surrounding area cleared.

The site contains the foundations and floor of a Jewish synagogue orientated approximately towards Jerusalem (see Fig. 1 and Pl. XVIII, 1). It consists of an apse, a central nave, and two lateral aisles. There is only one entrance giving access to the nave on the north-east side. It is approached by a step, to the right is a column base, while the area on the left is destroyed. The threshold contains two rectangular sockets for the doors.

The nave is separated from the aisles by two parallel rows of piers and responds which probably carried arches; they do not rest on a stylobate. The floor is paved with mosaics¹ (Pls. XIX, XX, XXI, 2). At the north-east end there is an Aramaic inscription in Hebrew characters (Pl. XXIII) mostly² in black tesserae in six lines (translated below, p. 76). It is enclosed in a rectangular panel with black border, while on each side of it the tesserae form plant designs (pomegranates and vines)³ in white, red, black, brown, and blue (Pl. XIX).

The remainder of the floor of the nave consists of a white surround, a guilloche border in white, red, black, brown, and light blue; for the designs in the field see Pl. XIX. The rectangular design capped by a semicircle and resting on four supports, which is in front of the apse, represents the Ark of the Law⁴ (*Ārōn ha qōdesh*). The colours used here are black for the border, and black, blue, brown, red, and white for the groundwork.

¹ There were 77 tesserae in an area 10 × 10 cm.

² There were also a few red and green tesserae.

³ Both are old Jewish symbols of frequent occurrence on cult objects and synagogue decorations. Cf. Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, p. 185 f., and *QDAP*, III, p. 124 and n. 6.

⁴ The Ark of the Law is also represented on the mosaic pavements of Beit Ālfa and 'Ain Dūk (Suknik, *Beth Alpha*, pp. 22 ff.; id., *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, p. 52 f.). The decoration clearly distinguishes between the frame of the Ark, decorated in inset squares, and the door with two closed wings. The Ark is represented shut, as in most cases. There are two interesting features in our representation: (1) the four feet on which the Ark rests. Such feet are represented in the 'Ain Dūk mosaic but in no other case. (2) The niche, decorated by a shell pattern, surmounting the Ark. In other mosaic representations we find a pointed roof. The Ark with a shell is, however, found on a stone relief from Peqi'in (Suknik, *Beth Alpha*, Fig. 26, p. 25).

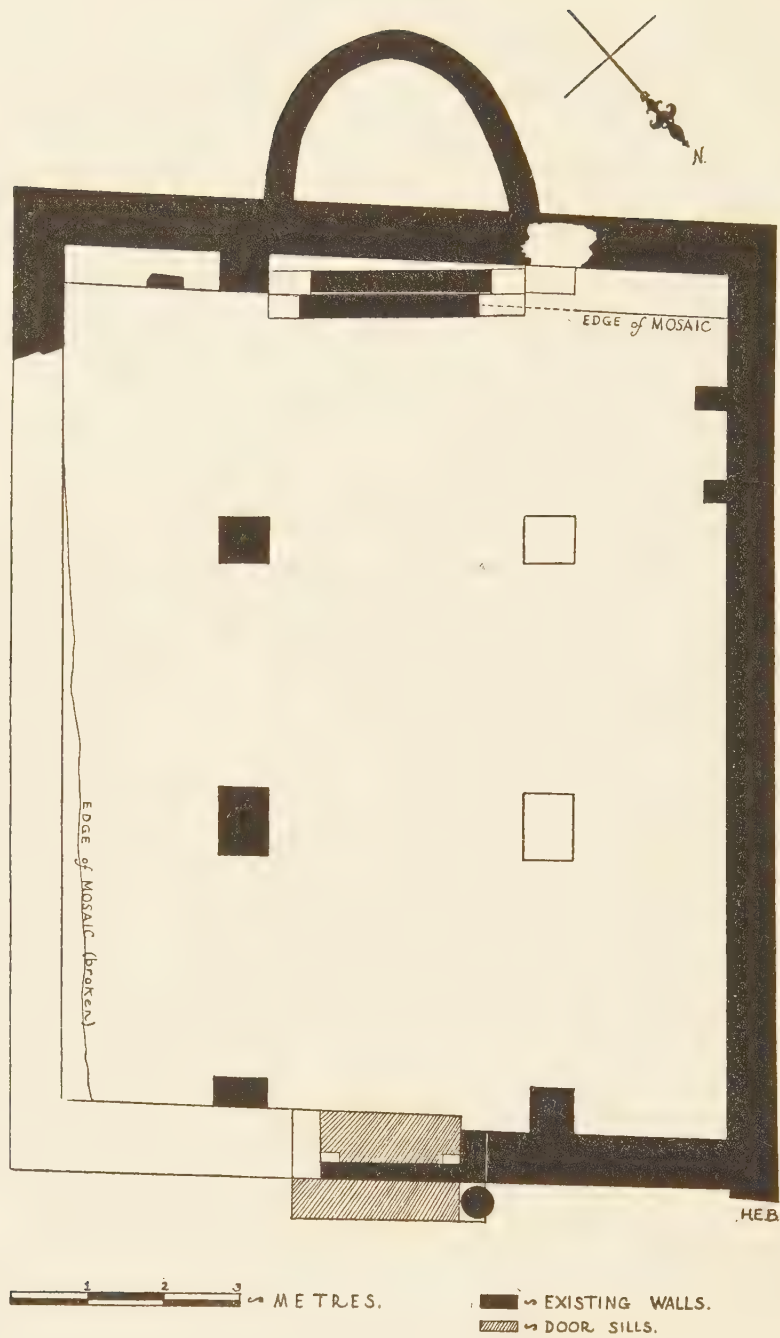


FIG. I.

EARLY BYZANTINE SYNAGOGUE, JERICHO

Below this *motif* is a circular medallion containing a 'menorah' (seven-branched candlestick)¹ in the middle, a 'lulab' (palm branch) to the left, and a 'shofar' (ram's horn)² to the right. Below is an inscription in Hebrew characters, שלום על ישראל ('Peace be upon Israel').³ The outline of the above *motifs*, including the letters of the inscription, is in black, while the rest of the field is in red and blue (Pl. XIX).

At the south-west end of the nave there are two steps leading to the semi-oval apse (Pl. XVIII, 2) the walls of which are not bonded into those of the synagogue. The apse was found destroyed to below floor-level, and thus it has not been possible to ascertain the manner in which it was paved.

The mosaic pavement⁴ in the north-west aisle is illustrated in Pl. XXI, 2. The colours used are red, black, and white. A gap, 65 cms. wide, was left between the south-west wall and the mosaic pavement.

Two stones, built against the north-west wall of the aisle, were probably for supporting a shelf.

The spaces between the piers were destroyed by the landlord before the nature of the discovery became apparent.

The pavement⁵ in the south-east aisle is illustrated in Pl. XX. The colours used are the same as those in the north-west aisle. A gap, of the same width as that in the north-west aisle, was also left between the south-west wall and the edge of the mosaic pavement.

Among the objects found were nine Cufic coins of the early eighth century, a late Roman coin badly worn, three whole glass bottles (Pl. XXI, 1) and several in fragments, a bronze hanger of a glass lamp,⁶ and a bronze filler (Pl. XXII). All these objects were found in the gap left in the north-west aisle between the wall and the end of the mosaic floor.

and on some gilt glasses (*l.c.*, Fig. 34, p. 31; Fig. 38, p. 34). Niches with shell ornament seem to have surmounted the Ark of the Law erected in the Capharnaum synagogue a short time after its construction (Kohl-Watzinger, *l.c.*, Fig. 73, p. 37). It is possible that the shell represents an older, and the pointed roof a younger, type of roof decoration.

¹ The candlestick occurs on practically all figured synagogue pavements (*QDAP*, III, p. 120). The representation here is much more realistic than in the other recorded cases. Whereas the other mosaic artists seem to have tried to give an idealized image of the Temple candlestick, we find here the figure of a candlestick as it must have been used in the synagogue itself. The metal rods and arms, the holders of the oil, and the straight weighted base with two curved supports can all be seen clearly.

² Cf. *QDAP*, III, p. 121 f.

³ The same inscription occurs at 'Isfiya, *QDAP*, III, p. 128 f., where parallel references are given.

⁴ There were 87 tesserae in an area 10 × 10 cm.

⁵ There were 47 tesserae in an area 10 × 10 cm.

⁶ Cf. *QDAP*, IV, p. 82, Pl. LIV, 1.

The inscription in the panel in front of the door reads as follows:

דכירן לטב יהוי דכרונהון לטב כל
קהלה קדני[שה רביה וועוריה דסייע
יתהון מלכיה דעלמה ואתחזקון ועבדון
פסיפסה דידע שמהתון ודבניהון ודאנשי
בתיהון יכתוב יתהון בספר חיים [עם]
צדיקיה חברין לכל ישראל שלום [אמן סלה]^{1,2}

The mosaic pavement is in a fairly good state of preservation and cannot have been used over a long period. Judging by the evidence supplied by the coins, the basilical form of the synagogue, and the character of the mosaics and the letters, the building can be tentatively dated to the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

D. C. BARAMKI.

¹ Additions in brackets are by M. Avi-Yonah.

² Translation: 'May they be well remembered, may their memory be for good, all (the) holy community, its elders and its youth, whom (the) King of (the) World helped and who exerted themselves and made the mosaic. He who knows their names and (the names) of their children and (the names) of the people of their households, shall write them in the Book of Life (together with) the Just. They [i.e. the members of the community] are associates with all Israel. Peace. (Amen, Sela).'

l. 1. דכירן לטב. This is the usual opening in synagogue inscriptions. Cf. *QDAP*, III, p. 70. יהוי דכרונהון. Cf. Ezra vi, 2: דכרונה. A repetition of the blessing is not unusual. Cf. *QDAP*, III, p. 129.

l. 2. קהלה קדישה. Cf. the אתרא קדישה in the 'Ain Dūk inscription (*QDAP*, II, pp. 155, 156) and below.

l. 3. מלכיה דעלמה. The same expression occurs twice in the el Ḥamme inscription, Sukenik, *JPOS*, XV, pp. 131, 138.

ואתחזקון. A similar phrase occurs three times in the 'Ain Dūk inscriptions:

דאתחזקת בהדין אתרה קדישה,
כל מן דמתחזק, דהנן מתחזקין בהדין אתרה קדישה

Cf. also Nehemiah iii, 4.

דעבדון. A similar expression occurs at Kafr Kanna: דעבדין הדה טבלה (*QDAP*, II, p. 178) and at Gischala (Klein, *Corpus inscriptionum*, p. 78): יוסה בר נחום עבד.

l. 4. פסיפסה. The same word is used to describe a mosaic at Beit Alpha, 'Ain Dūk, and el Ḥamme. דידע שמהתון. This is another example of the parallelism in expression frequently found between Jewish and Christian inscriptions of the Byzantine period (cf. *QDAP*, III, p. 70). The formula reproduced occurs in Greek as ὁ κύριος γέγονε καὶ ἐκτίμησεν τὰ ὀνόματα (*QDAP*, II, p. 153; Deir Wadi el Qilt); on the Bethlehem baptistery (*CIG* 8867); at 'Ain el Jedide (*QDAP*, IV, p. 112), el Mekhaiyyet (Lemaire, *RB*, 1934, p. 395). Cf. also *RB*, 1903, p. 611. The same formula occurs also in an Armenian inscription (*QDAP*, II, p. 172).

ודבניהון ודאנשי בתיהון. Cf. the Makhmās inscription: O. ὁ μακρυβίω καὶ τέκνοις (*QDAP*, I, p. 103 f.) and the Cilli inscriptions: 'Optianus cum famulis suis' (*Österr. Jahresh. Beibl.* I, p. 33).

l. 5. בספר חיים. This is in Hebrew, as the expression was current in that form in the New Year and Day of Atonement prayers. Cf. ὁ κύριος ἐν β(ι)β(λίω) ζω[ῆς] *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1905, p. 62, no. 99 (A.D. 437?).



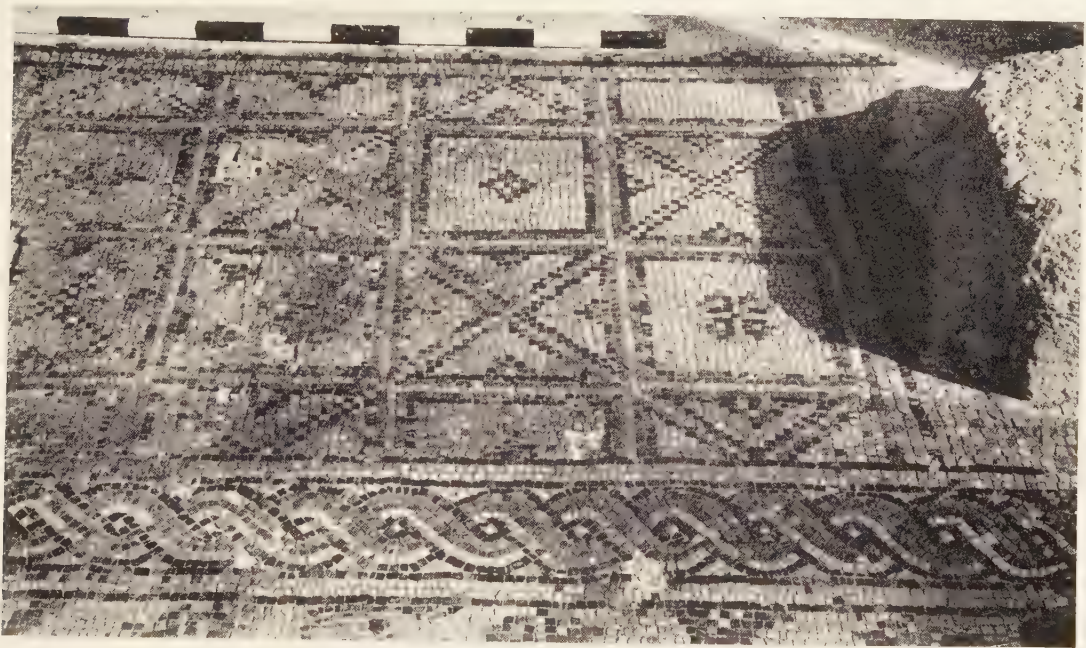
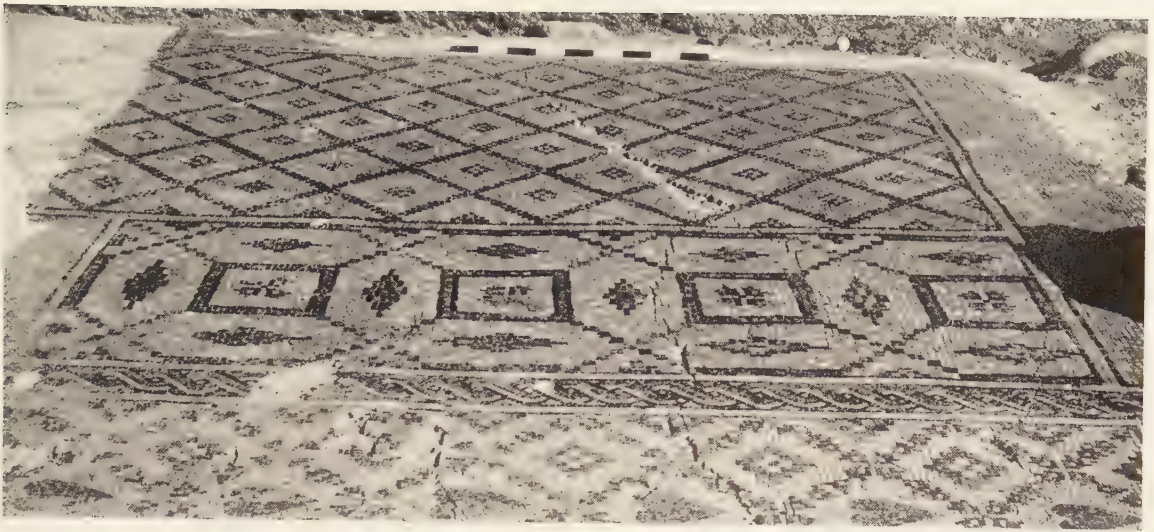
1. General view, looking south



2. The apse, looking west

JERICHO SYNAGOGUE

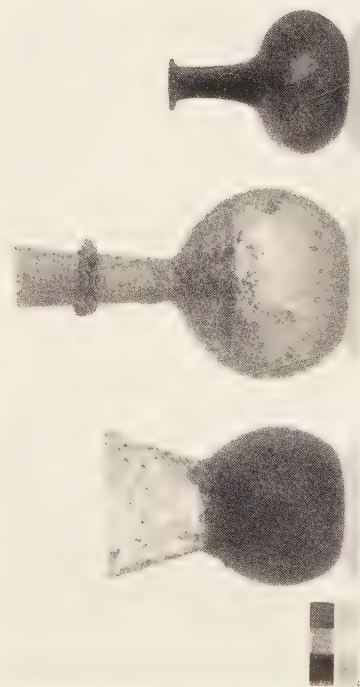




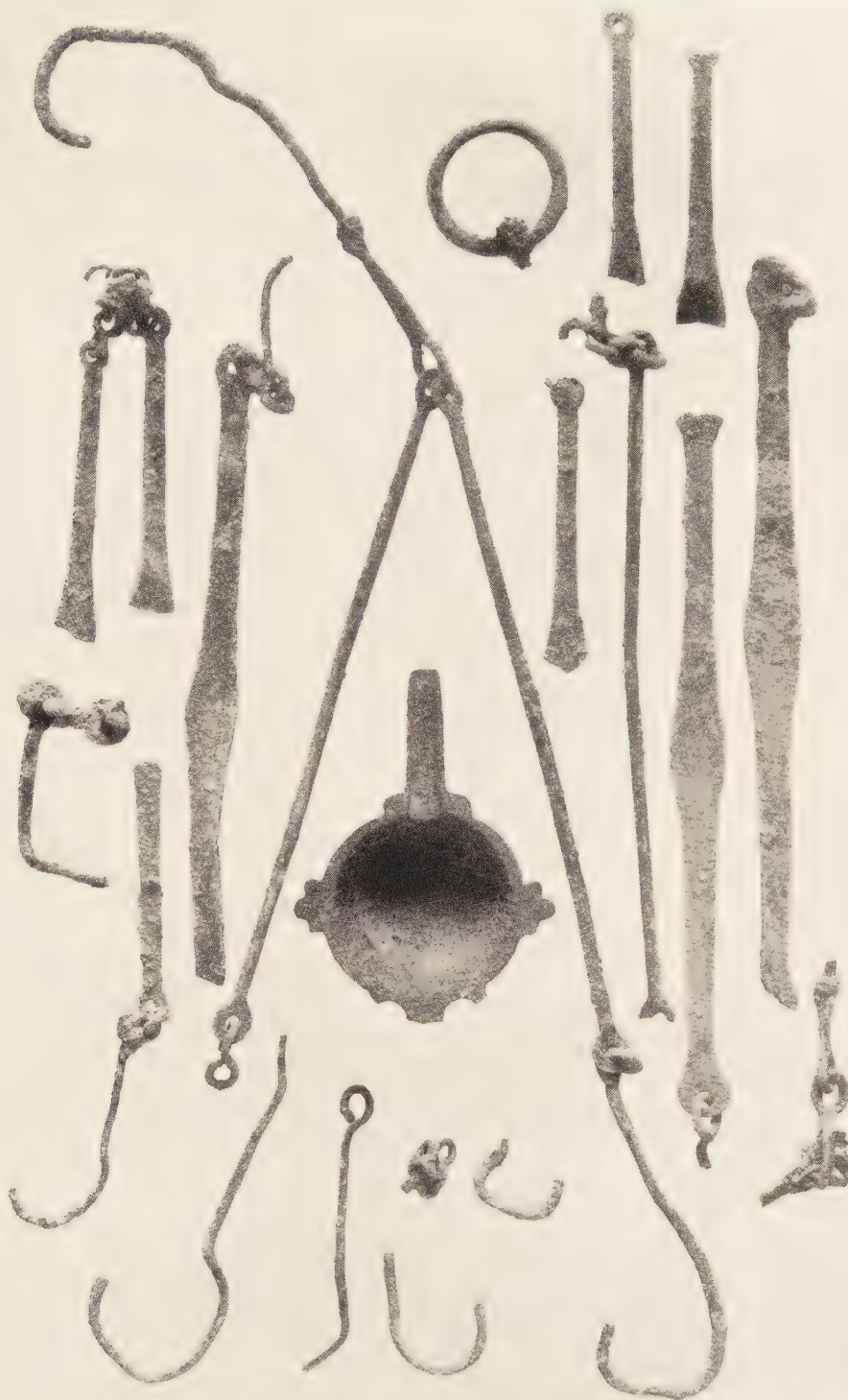
Pavement in the south-east aisle
JERICHO SYNAGOGUE



2. Pavement in the north-west aisle

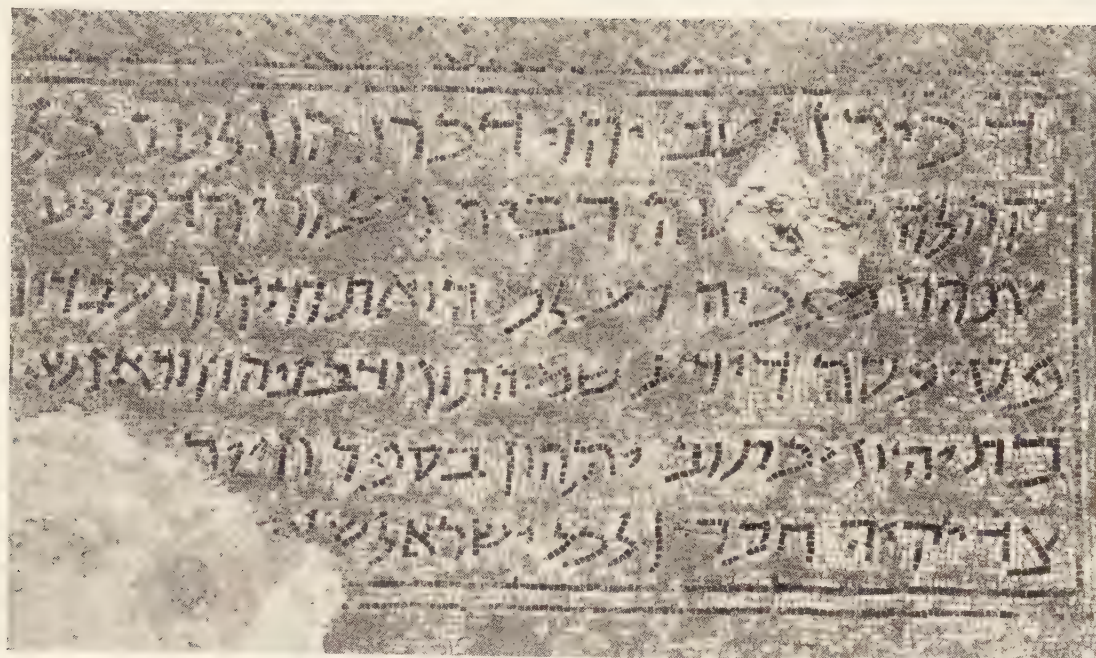


1. Glass bottles

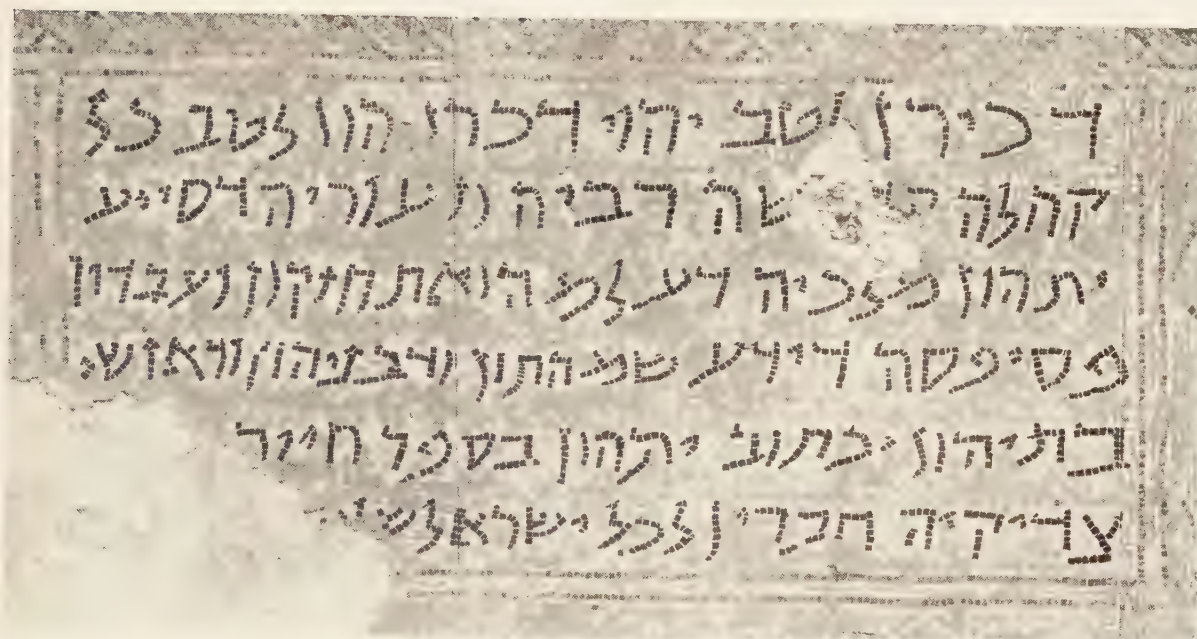


Fragments of bronze lamps

JERICHO SYNAGOGUE



1. Inscription at the entrance

2. Inscription, lettering retouched
JERICHO SYNAGOGUE

EARLY BYZANTINE SYNAGOGUE, JERICHO

l. 6. צדיקיה [עם]. Cf. the inscription at Kh. Keraza: יהי לה חולק עם צדיקים (Ory, *QSt.*, 1927, p. 51; Marmorstein, *ibid.*, p. 102, and also *QDAP*, III, p. 129).

חברין לכל ישראל (עיר) העושה כל ישראל חברים. This formula goes back to the Talmudic age: (Yerush. *Hagiga*, 79 d-3, 6, l. 6) and occurs also in the New Moon benedictions.

The inscription is of importance for two reasons. Its anonymity is in striking contrast to the usual style of such inscriptions ('Ain Dūk and especially el Ḥamme) where the individual subscriptions of the donors are minutely detailed in the style of a subscription list. Further, the writer must have had in mind, while composing the inscription, the prayer פורקן יקום of the Sabbath and festival morning prayers, whose antiquity is thus attested. The resemblance is both in the general tone and style of the inscription, and in the use of such expressions as:

קהלא קדישא, רברביא עם זעריה, מלכא דעלמא . . . יהא בסעדכון.

The writer has to thank Professor S. Klein, of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for drawing his attention to this and to several other matters in connexion with this inscription.

M. AVI-YONAH.

THE SHEKELS OF THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS

THE date of the 'thick' Jewish shekels, which bear the type of a chalice on the obverse and a stem with three flowers on the reverse, has always been the chief crux of Jewish numismatics. The traditional attribution is to Simon Maccabaeus. The first to attribute them to the First Revolt was Ewald, and he was supported in 1887 by Théodore Reinach. This date was favoured on grounds of style by Imhoof-Blumer. But in 1903 Reinach recanted, and produced a number of arguments in favour of the Maccabaeus date. In my *Catalogue of the Coins of Palestine*, in 1914, I dealt with these arguments, and on a careful analysis of the epigraphic evidence came to the conclusion that Reinach's first dating was right. I have seen no reason since to change my opinion. The only new evidence that has hitherto come to light, that of a find in which an 'almost perfectly preserved shekel and half-shekel were associated with Herodian bronzes and coins of the Procurators', was, so far as it went, conclusive in favour of the attribution to the First Revolt; but unfortunately no description of the find was published.¹

Now, however, I am able, by the kindness of Mr. E. T. Richmond, the Director of Antiquities in Palestine, to set forth another piece of evidence. In November 1935 a rumour became current that a collection of 160 shekels had been found either at Ophel or near St. Stephen's Gate. The finder and the original source of the coins which were being sold in the market have not been traced; but 64 shekels and 25 non-Jewish coins were deposited by the dealers who were known to possess them in the hands of the Government; and these I have been allowed to examine. Information as to the circumstances of the find is not forthcoming; but these coins have all suddenly appeared on the market together, and both series, Jewish and non-Jewish, appeared in different hands at the same time. On the other hand, it is said, as Mrs. Baldwin Brett kindly informs me in a letter from Beirut dated 24th March, that a hoard of silver coins, tetradrachms of Tyre and Tyrian tetradrachms of Demetrius II, was unearthed at Nāblus. The question arises whether the two hoards have been confused. But I think that that must be answered in the negative, because among the coins found in the hands of dealers in Jerusalem, and now submitted to me and described below, there was not a single coin of Demetrius II. Mrs. Baldwin Brett cites an opinion which was given her, that the two lots of 64 shekels and 25 non-Jewish coins did not form a single hoard 'because of the difference in external condition of the two lots, the shekels having been incrustated with horn silver of a deep

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, pp. 133-4.

THE SHEKELS OF THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS

bluish hue, the Tyrian coins with a light-green patination'. She continues: 'a few of the latter coins reached Beyrouth, where I saw a few survivors, and the dealer there was uncertain about their provenance, advancing Tyre as a supposition.'

All this makes it necessary to set forth the evidence merely for what it is worth. Nevertheless, as to the condition of the coins, it may be observed, as Mr. Stanley Robinson has pointed out to me, that the Tyrian coins, being made of poor metal, would naturally show green patination. Though not incrustated like the shekels, many of them did show a certain amount of purplish discolouration.

The Nāblus find may, I think, be definitely set aside as not having anything to do with the coins now in question. If the latter had attracted coins from the Nāblus find, we should expect to see coins of Demetrius II among them. The only question remaining is whether the Jewish shekels come from one hoard and the Ptolemaic and Tyrian coins from another. That question will perhaps never be answered. But at any rate the assumption that we are dealing with a single hoard is not unreasonable, and, since every piece of evidence about the date of the Jewish shekels is welcome, may be taken as a working hypothesis until it is disproved.

So much by way of reserve. I now proceed to describe the 89 coins which have been placed in my hands. The numbers to which an asterisk is prefixed are illustrated on Plate XXIV, though the reproductions can hardly do more than show how badly the coins are preserved.

PTOLEMAIC TETRADRACHMS

Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

1. *Obv.* Head of Soter r.

Rev. Inscription obliterated. Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field r., Κ (?); in field l., obliterated monogram (?). 13.59 gm. Much worn.

Perhaps of the Sidon mint, similar to Svoronos, Νομ. τῶν Πτολ. no. 729, which is of 258 B.C.

- *2. Similar types; inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜ[ΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤ]ΗΡΟΣ; in field l., mint-mark of Joppa; to r., ΑΒ (32) and obliterated letter; between eagle's legs, Α. 13.44 gm. Much worn.

Similar to Svoronos, no. 303, 254 B.C.

SHEKELS OF TYRE

Of the period 126/5 B.C. to A.D. 65/6 (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Phoenicia*, pp. 233-49).

Obv. Bust of Melqarth r.

Rev. Eagle l. on beak of ship, palm over l. shoulder; inscription ΤΥΡΟΥ

ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ; in field l. club and date; r. monogram or letters; between legs, Phoenician letter.

Owing to the worn condition of the coins, it is frequently impossible to determine the details of the monograms or the Phoenician letter; and, in view of the difficulty of reproducing in type the monograms when they are legible, I have not usually made the attempt to do so, though I have referred, where possible, to published descriptions. The Phoenician letters, which are usually α or β , I have ignored. The date is the all-important detail for our purposes.

3. Date 87 = 40/39 B.C. On r., Z over ω (cp. Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, no. 2080). 13.87 grm. Rather worn.
4. Date 89 = 38/37 B.C. On r., monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 171. Double-struck. 14.21 grm. Fair.
- *5. Date 92 = 35/34 B.C. On r., B N. (Same obverse die as Babelon, no. 2083). 14.05 grm. Well-preserved. The B in the date is strangely made, but the identity of the obverse die with the Paris coin supports the reading.
6. Date 96 = 31/30 B.C. On r., monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 180. 13.76 grm. Much worn.
- *7. Date 97 = 30/29 B.C. On r., monogram of ΔIOT (?) (cf. no. 56 in Babelon's table). 14.04 grm. Fair.
8. Date 99 = 28/27 B.C. On r., monogram of Babelon, no. 2103 (?) or *B.M.C.* no. 197. 13.86 grm. Worn.
9. Date 90+. On r., Σ over another letter. 13.91 grm. Worn.
10. Date 102 = 25/24 B.C. On r., monogram of HP Δ . 13.85 grm. Worn.
11. Date 105 = 22/21 B.C. On r., B N. 13.85 grm. Worn. Same dies as *B.M.C.* no. 182.
12. Date 108 (?) = 19/18 B.C. Other details obliterated. 13.85 grm. Much worn. The hundred sign is not quite certain.
13. Date 114 = 13/12 B.C. On r., KP over monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 189. 13.94 grm. Much worn.
14. Similar to preceding. 14.07 grm. Fair.
15. Date 115 = 12/11 B.C. On r., KP over monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 193. 14.02 grm. Worn.
16. Date 118 = 9/8 B.C. On r., KP over monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 194 and Babelon, no. 2097. 14.18 grm. Fair.
- *17. Date 127 = A.D. 1/2. On r. KP over monogram $\diamond$. 13.86 grm. Much worn.
- *18. Date 129 = A.D. 3/4. On r., KP over monogram as on *B.M.C.* no. 187 (?). 13.97 grm. Much worn.
- *19. Date 120+. On r., KP over monogram probably as on *B.M.C.* no. 197. 12.09 grm. Much worn.
- *20. Date 130 = A.D. 4/5. On r., KP over monogram $\mathfrak{A}$. 14.10 grm. Worn.
21. Date 131 = A.D. 5/6. On r., KP over monogram $\mathfrak{Z}$. 14.19 grm. Fair.
22. Date 145 = A.D. 19/20. On r., KP over monogram as on Babelon, no. 2103 (?). 13.96 grm. Very fair.

THE SHEKELS OF THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS

23. Date 100+. On r., K P over monogram (perhaps as *B.M.C.* no. 200). 14.08 gm. Much worn.
24. All details illegible. 13.82. Very much worn.
-
- *25. Date 98 = B.C. 29/28. On r. monogram of ΠC. 11.58 gm. Very slightly worn. A quasi-barbarous imitation.

JEWISH SHEKELS OF THE THIRD YEAR

Obv. Chalice; around, Hebrew inscription 'Shekel of Israel'; above the chalice, date (Year 3).

Rev. Stem with three flowers; around, Hebrew inscription 'Jerusalem the Holy'.

- 26-89. Sixty-four specimens, all showing no signs of circulation, but sometimes incrustation or discolouration. Weights (excluding 18 which have incrustations which would affect the weight): maximum 14.37 gm., minimum 14.13 gm.; average of 46: 14.27 gm.

The most significant feature of the find is that the shekels are, in the first place, all of the same year (the third), and in the second, all in absolutely unworn condition. They have seen no circulation, and must have been secreted almost immediately after they were issued. Some of them are incrustated, and there is one lot of three which are stuck together. Some of them are discoloured; but the majority are in quite brilliant condition. But the coins associated with them are in very different case. A few of them are in just passable condition; only one of them, and that not a regular issue, but a semi-barbarous copy of a coin of Tyre, can be described as not worn. The great majority are worn, much worn, or very badly worn. They must have been in circulation a long time. But only two of them belong to a pre-Maccabaeon period. These are coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus, dating from the middle of the third century. Owing to their worn condition it has been no easy matter to make them out; but one was struck at Joppa, probably in 254 B.C., the other probably at Sidon, about the same time. All the remaining associated coins are Phoenician shekels of the mint of Tyre, with the one imitation already mentioned. The earliest of these dates from 40/39 B.C., the latest from A.D. 19/20. Obviously, if the evidence of coin-finds means anything, the Maccabaeon date for the Jewish shekels is excluded. Since the non-Jewish coins are, as I have said, worn by long circulation, the Jewish shekels, on the other hand, in mint-state, we are driven to the conclusion that these Jewish shekels must belong to the First Revolt, since no other episode, until the Second Revolt, of which the coinage is perfectly well known, can supply an occasion for them.

From the middle of the third century B.C. to the year A.D. 68/9 is indeed a

long life for coins, but the Jews must have had silver, if only for the payment of temple-dues.

I have said that the barbarous imitation of the Tyrian shekel is not worn. That means that it may have been produced not very long before the time of the First Revolt. And this is quite in keeping with the rule that imitations are usually made when the originals are no longer being issued and are hard to come by. Now the Tyrian series in question came to an end in A.D. 65/6, only three years before the year 68/9 when the Jewish shekels were struck. The Tyrian series was issued during a period of 181 years. I have counted the known specimens, the descriptions of which I have been able to check with fair certainty, over periods of 30 years, as some guide to the comparative profusion of the issues.

Years 1-30	211 specimens	Years 91-120	57 specimens
31-60	67 „	120-150	25 „
61-90	72 „	150-181	29 „

From this it seems clear that for the last sixty or seventy years these coins must have been getting scarcer, worn specimens would remain in circulation, and imitations would be made.

The fact that the Jewish shekels are all of the same year suggests that the owner of the hoard got them straight from the mint when the year's issue was made. His previous savings consisted of these associated non-Jewish coins, and he buried all together. This is, I think, more likely than the supposition that they may all have come from the site of the mint, and that the non-Jewish coins were awaiting the melting pot.

The distinction of dies, where all are so close to each other, is rather tricky, but it seems fairly certain that only three obverse (chalice-side) dies were employed (the three coins which are stuck together are here ignored). Of these obverse dies, one (A) was used for no less than 59 of the 61 coins examined; it is associated with six different reverse dies (*a, b, c, d, e, f*). Another, B (which is the obverse die of *B.M.C.* no. 12), is used with reverse die *a* for a single coin; and the third, C (which is the obverse die of *B.M.C.* no. 13), is used with a seventh reverse die (*g*). It is probable that *B.M.C.* no. 14 is struck from the reverse die *f*; but the other two reverse dies of the British Museum, and the obverse die of *B.M.C.* no. 14, are not represented in the find. Here, then, is the distribution:

<i>A/a</i> . . .	18 specimens	<i>A/e</i> . . .	5 specimens
<i>A/b</i> . . .	17 „	<i>A/f</i> . . .	1 specimen
<i>A/c</i> . . .	11 „	<i>B/a</i> . . .	1 „
<i>A/d</i> . . .	7 „	<i>C/g</i> . . .	1 „



PTOLEMAIC, TYRIAN AND JEWISH COINS

THE SHEKELS OF THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS

Examples of obverse dies A, B, C, and of reverse dies *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* and *g* are illustrated in the plate. (Pl. XXIV).

The evidence of the find on the question of the shekel standard is rather remarkable. In the B.M. Catalogue of Palestine the maximum of the shekel is given as 14.30 grm., on the evidence of weights then available. Out of the 46 coins in this find which have been weighed (18 are so much incrustated that to record their weights would mislead) there are no less than 13 weighing more than 14.30 grm., the maximum of 14.37 grm. being reached by two. The average of the 46 is 14.27 grm. The frequency table seems to indicate a norm of about 14.27. That is the actual peak (with five specimens) at intervals of 0.01 grm. But, since such exact weighings are apt to be fallacious (it is easy to weigh the same coin twice and find a difference of much more than 0.01 grm.), we may use an interval of 0.05 grm. We get apparently different results, according to the system on which these intervals are arranged. Thus:

SYSTEM A		SYSTEM B	
<i>Intervals</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Intervals</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>
14.40-14.35	6	14.37-14.33	9
14.34-14.30	8	14.32-14.28	13
14.29-14.25	20	14.27-14.23	16
14.24-14.20	9	14.22-14.18	5
14.19-14.15	1	14.17-14.13	3
14.14-14.10	2		

But the difference is only apparent. From system A we deduce that the norm is somewhere in the middle of the interval 14.29 to 14.25, since the numbers of coins in the intervals above and below are nearly equally balanced. From system B we deduce that the norm is about at the top of interval 14.27 to 14.23, since the great majority of the coins are in the intervals above that one. Both systems indicate 14.27 grm. as the norm, which is also given by the frequency table based on intervals of 0.01 grm. and by the average. As a rule, the norm is above the average, because the material from which tables are made contains a large proportion of worn and light coins; but where all the coins are perfectly preserved, as here, norm and average should agree, as here.

P.S. Since this article was passed for press I learn that both Mr. E. T. Newell and Mrs. Baldwin Brett have received information showing that the Nāblus hoard has no connexion with that described above.

GEORGE HILL.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV¹

fo. 88^r

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITADEL OF 'AIN ET TUJJĀR²

l. 10

THIS citadel was constructed by Sinān Pāsha, the conqueror of Yemen, in the year [],³ in order to ensure the safety of the high roads between Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo. It is a square, perfect fortress, built of masonry in the midst of a large, verdant meadow. It has a circumference of six hundred paces. The garrison consists of a warden and 150 men. It has a 'double' (*iki qāt*) iron gate facing north. Inside the fortress are between forty and fifty rooms for the garrison. It is the seat of a police magistrate, [situated] on the borders of the territory of Şafad, being also an administrative sub-district (*nāhiye*). Here the territory of Şafad ends and that of Nāblus begins.

fo. 88^r

l. 15

The garrison of the fortress have the charge of the travellers (*āyendé ve révendé*), pilgrims and merchants by land and sea, in order to conduct them to the places of their destination. As a rule they charge the merchants six *aqçe* per load. They guard and protect these roads.

Inside the fortress is the Mosque of Sinān Pāsha, an artistically constructed work, with a lead roof, full of light. Its windows have light blue glass enamel fixed symmetrically with rock crystal and crystal (?). It measures eighty feet each side. The sanctuary has three graceful and lofty minarets—Praise be to the Creator, as if they were three young coquettish muezzins—and seven high domes.

The wayfarers (*āyendé ve révendé*) are lavishly given a loaf of bread and a tallow candle (*rūghenī*) for each person, and a nosebag of barley for each horse—free of charge.

On either side of the fortress is a caravanserai with eight shops. No buildings are outside, except a public bath, now out of use.

fo. 88^r

l. 20

The limpid springs in front of the entrance to the fortress are called '*Ain et Tujjār*'. Beside them is a porch with benches and a few roofless houses, in the shadows of which travellers rest. The fortress is known under the name of the Spring.

At a distance of two hundred paces to the west of this fortress is another

¹ Continued from Vol. V, p. 73.

² To-day called Khān at-Tujjār and Khān as-Sūq, *PEF.*, Map VI. O. i. Both buildings mentioned by Evliya, the caravanserai, after which the village is called nowadays, and a small fort on a slight eminence above it, are still in existence.

³ Year not mentioned, nor space provided in MS. Sinān Pāsha was connected with Palestine several times. First as *mīr-i livā* of practically the whole of Syria as far as Gaza (Hammer, III, 551) until 1568, when he became Governor of Egypt (Ibn Zambal, MS. Paris, Ar. 1832, fo. 121^r–122^v, Ḥasan at-Tūlūnī, MS. Paris, Ar. 1814, fo. 81^v–82^r), and later, as Governor of Damascus, until April 1589 (Hammer, IV, 185). Within these dates, therefore, the fortress must have been built.

ancient one [as well preserved] as if it had just left the hand of the architect. It has no additional buildings (*ḥawālīsi*) whatever. Its gate faces east and is situated on an elevated site. It measures six hundred paces in circumference. There are eight watch-towers, yet it is not inhabited. When winter sets in, sheep and goats of the guardians of the fortress are kept there.

At a distance of a thousand paces to the south is the *Jebel Ṭūr* (TABOR).

DESCRIPTION OF THE ṬŪR-I HERĀVENI AND THE ṬŪR-I SĪNĀ

A luminous mountain rises from a vast plain. Though it is not so very high, yet because of the nearness of Allah it is a 'Mountain of God' higher than high and undescrivable—a vision place for all the prophets. Its summit is crowned by a fortress. Yet nobody lives there. Besides, there are opportune places ^{fo. 88r} for meditation (lit. 'caves'), whither pious men from the country of Ṭabaristān,² l. 25 Filistīn, and Jāsān come and stay for forty days in those 'caves', thus fulfilling the requirements of the 'mystical path' (*tekmīl-i ṭarīq*).

On this mountain are the shrines of the prophets Mūsa, Shu'eib, Ya'qūb, Ishāq, in fine, there are shrines for all the prophets, as it is the mountain of their secret prayers. According to a learned historian³ six hundred prophets were buried on this luminous mountain. In this Holy Land three mountains are known as *ṭūr*. This means, that this is one of the three mountains where prophets spoke directly with the Creator and prayed to Him. Another *ṭūr* is the Ṭūr Zaita in Jerusalem, about which the verse was inspired 'By the figs and by the olives' (Sūra XCV, 1). According to the commentators *Zeitūn* stands for Jerusalem and Mount Olivet.

A third one is the Mount Sinai, on the road from Egypt to Mecca, near the ^{fo. 88r} eighth station, at an hour's distance from the shore [of the Red Sea] in a rocky ^{l. 30} country. The *Ṭūr Sīnīn* intended by the verse (Sūra XCV, 1) is Mount Sinai.

We ascended the mountain with our horses and visited [the site], thanks to God. We then descended, and, keeping to the right of the road to Egypt,

¹ Perhaps a misspelling for Ṭūr Hārūn (*v. Yāqūt, Mu'jam*, III, p. 559) and in this case a mix-up with the well-known mountain west of Petra. In Arabic literature Mount Tabor is always called simply aṭ-Ṭūr.

² With regard to Evliya's constant spelling Ṭabaristān instead of Ṭabariyya cf. vol. III, p. 118, ult., MS. (Vol. IX) foll. 87 v., l. 46, 88 v., l. 25 et al.

³ So far as I am aware no Muslim author before Evliya ever considered this part of Palestine specially fertile in tombs of prophets. But early in the sixteenth century J. Luria, the famous Jewish cabbalist of Ṣafad, during his peripatetic lessons with his pupils, has indicated the sites of hundreds of holy tombs (cf. Ḥayyim Vital, *Sha'ar hag-gilgūlim*, Jerusalem, 1863, fo. 73^vff.), thus creating a special literature and a tomb-worship hitherto unknown, at least so far as his followers were concerned. It is not unlikely that Evliya's information about the numerous tombs of 'prophets', both in the neighbourhood of Ṣafad and in that of Mount Tabor, are derived directly or indirectly from a Jewish guide.

(which runs below 'Ain et Tujjār), the humble writer followed for an hour the left branch, leading to Jerusalem through a dry stretch of land, until the village of *Ṭabbāgha* was reached. This is a Moslem village with a hundred houses and a small (*mukhtaṣar*) mosque. Here end the boundaries of [the territory of] Ṣafad. It is the boundary of the Terābīn (Terābī-Oghlū), yet it is under the administration [of the *ṣanjāq*] of Jebel 'Ajlūn. The inhabitants of all these villages are sturdy people.

Passing by it, we went again in a southerly direction to the village of *Nā'ūn* (*Nā'in*?)¹ which consists of a hundred Moslem houses and is [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. Thence we continued our way to the village of *Zer'in*,² a Moslem village of two hundred houses and [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. At the end of the plain stretching south of it the fortress of Jebel 'Ajlūn is visible at a distance of three [days' journey].

fo. 88^r We did not go beyond that village but went to 'Akkān. This too is [the
l. 35 seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder] and consists of one hundred houses of Moslem inhabitants.

The shrine of Sheikh Dāhi,³ one of the noble Companions of the Prophet, is on the mountain to the north of these villages. He is buried under a high dome. The mausoleum has a[n appointed] keeper and *waqfs* are assigned to it. The belongings of the inhabitants living around the shrine are frequently deposited within. Nobody ever dares to appropriate such goods. In fact, it is a high[ly honoured] shrine.

Thence we went to the village of *Dāhi*, a Moslem village of about fifty houses. It is [the seat of] a *tīmār* fief [holder] and has a small mosque. The plain stretching to the south of this village is called *Merj ibn 'Amir*. The road to Egypt passes through it. *Khān el Lejjūn*⁴ is visible from here. Yet we went from 'Ain et Tujjār for seven hours through a plain with flourishing villages.

fo. 88^r DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS OF JENĪN⁵

l. 40 It was built in the year []⁶ by the Sultān []⁶ of Egypt. Later on it was enlarged under the Ottomans, so that it became a strong fortress. It

¹ PEF. Map IX, O.j.

² PEF. Map IX, N.k.

³ PEF. Map IX, O.j.

⁴ PEF. Map VIII, M.k.

⁵ PEF. Map VIII, N.l. It is not our intention to give here a list of all the references to Jinīn (sometime spelt Jinīn), so often mentioned as a camping-field of Mamlūk armies. According to Arab geographers it was a pleasant townlet (*bulaida ḥasana*, Yāqūt II, 180/1; *Marāṣid*, I, 279) known for the holy tomb of Dihya al-Kalbī, one of the companions of the Prophet (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, IV, 154, l. 15 f.; *Ḍau aṣ-ṣubḥ*, 307, l. 5 f.; many other tombs of Dihya have been known to exist in the Near East, so in Shajara, PEF. Map VI, O.h, Yāqūt III. 260 bot.; in Mizzeh near

For continuation of note 5 and for note 6 see opposite page.

belongs to the private Imperial *waqfs* in Jabal 'Ajlūn, which have been set down in writing at an early date (*maqṭū' -i qalem ve mefrūz el-qidam*). The Governor is its *mutevelli*. A warden with a garrison of two hundred soldiers lives in it. It is a small, yet strong, rectangular, flourishing fortress, situated on a raised terrace, measuring a thousand paces in circumference. Yet it has no ditches. Its two gates face south and north respectively. From within it is fully occupied with guest-chambers. In its very centre rises a lovely mosque with a well proportioned minaret covered with a lead roof. It is a delightful mosque. In its inner court is a huge water-basin ten by ten [paces]. Out of the revenue of the building the travellers receive freely a loaf of bread and a bowl of soup [for each person] as well as a tallow candle light to each hearth [*ujāq*]. (Should, fo. 88^r however, a distinguished person arrive, then the traditional table [*simāt-i* l. 45 *Muḥammadi*] would be set, and he would be treated for three days as a guest.) As a rule, a nosebag of barley and fodder is given for every horse. It is a well-endowed *waqf*.

On both sides of the arches of the high road are one hundred masonry-built shops, with iron gates at both ends. South of the suburb of the fortress a flourishing townlet of one hundred houses stretches over an ascending slope. It has a mosque and a public bath. Near the caravanserai seven date palms rise to a considerable height, similar to those found in the oases of Egypt. Amidst them, under a white dome, is the shrine of Sheikh 'Izz-ed-dīn bin esh Sheikh Muḥammed er Rifā'i. Beside him the ancestors of the Terābī Oghlū [chieftains?] are buried within.

Damascus, *id.*, IV, 522, l. 10; in Cairo, *id.*, IV, 555, l. 1). During his wars with the Crusaders Saladin attacked Jinīn several times; he plundered it in Rabī' I, 578 and destroyed it in Jumāda II, 580 (Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 333/4; Abu-l-Fidā', s.a., ed. Reiske, IV, 50) (Bahā' ad-dīn, ed. Schultens, p. 59; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafa Ziāda, I, 84, ll. 6 ff.). In 657 (1259) Baybars was granted by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo half of Jinīn together with half of the town of Nāblus and the command of 120 horses (Maqrīzī-Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 83). In the truce between Qalāūn and the Franks in Ṣafar 682 (May 1283) Jinīn and its districts are specially mentioned (*Sultans Mamlouks*, II a, p. 225). Under the Mamlūks, Jinīn was one of the eleven—later on twelve—districts (*a'māl*) of Ṣafad (Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS. Paris, Ar. 2325, fo. 223 r, l. pu.; Dimishqī, p. 212, bot.; *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, l.c.; *Ḍau aṣ-ṣubḥ*, l.c.); it ranked as a *wilāya* (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Ta'rif*, 182, l. 16), with a non-commissioned officer (*jundī*) at its head, appointed by the governor of Ṣafad (*Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, iv, 240 f.; *Ḍau aṣ-ṣubḥ*, 331, l. 10). Situated as it was on the main road from Cairo to Damascus it became an important post-station. It is mentioned in several lists of relays between Faḥme and Hiṭṭīn (Khalīl az-Zāhirī, ed. Ravaisse, p. 119, l. 12; *Ta'rif*, p. 192, l. 1 f.); in the list of stations for the transport of snow from the Lebanon, which, of course, was a sort of express-service, Jinīn appears between Irbid and Qāqūn (Khalīl, p. 118, l. 4). It was a station in the pigeon post-service, too (*ibid.*, p. 117, l. 11 f.). Cf. also Hartmann, *Geographische Nachrichten*, pp. 72, 84, 86.

⁶ Not mentioned, nor space provided for. Most probably Baybars was meant, cf. preceding note.

fo. 88^v The sheikh and emīr of the Terābī Oghlū [tribe]¹ lives in the fortress of
 l. 1 Jenīn. He invited the humble writer to the Government House, situated
 in the *qaṣaba* of the Terābī Oghlū [territory], across the mountains west of
 Jenīn.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TERĀBĪ OGHLŪ

It is [the seat of] a perpetual *mīr-i livā* in the *ṣanjāq* of Jebel 'Ajlūn, in the
 province of Damascus. Because these [chieftains of the tribe of Terābī Ogh-
 lū] went at the head of the Turkish army when Sulṭān Selīm I went to
 Egypt, this office was granted to them in perpetual tenure. They hold an
 official Imperial Rescript (*līgh-i belīgh-ī shāhīler*) of dignity since the times
 of the 'Abbasides. They trace their noble genealogy through their
 uncle (?) ('*amminjé*) up to Sām, the son of Nūḥ, may peace be on him. They
 follow the Shāfi'ī rite. Because their country is rocky and thickly wooded,
 their nature is secretive. They number about twenty thousand musketeers,
 fo. 88^v including cavalry men on *kuḥeilān* breed horses. Their houses, built of mud
 l. 5 and lime, number seven hundred. There is a Friday mosque and other small
 mosques as well as tiny shops, gardens, and orchards. The climate is extremely
 agreeable. I was their guest for a night. The sheikh-emīr presented the
 humble writer with a horse, fifty piasters, and a striped *kereké*.

Accompanied by fifty armed mounted beduins we went for five hours in a
 southerly direction, then for another hour through the valley of Jinīn, passed
 the village of *Qabāṭye*² and arrived at '*Arrābe*.³ It consists of a hundred
 Moslem houses and [its revenue] is set aside for the pāsha, who is governor
 of Nāblus.

Then followed *Qal'at Maghāra*,⁴ a *tīmār* fief, the whole revenues of which are
 [derived from] olives. It is a Moslem village of two hundred houses. Thence
 we went to the village of *Sīle*,⁵ also a *tīmār* fief. All its inhabitants are Moslems.
 fo. 88^v Thence we made our way to the Moslem village of *Qurqāgh*,⁶ which
 l. 10 abounds with olive groves and mulberry plantations; thence to *Fandaqūmye*⁷
 and thence to the large village *Sabaṣṭya*,⁸ a prosperous townlet on a slope. It
 has at present Moslem and Christian inhabitants.

Over this slope rises a high monastery, the buildings of which bewilder the

¹ In the days of Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, Boston, 1860, Vol. I, Section 7, p. 186) the Terābīn were 'dwelling near Suez to the region of Gaza'. Cf. also *Quarterly Statement*, 1869-70, p. 135; *Schedule of Villages and Tribal Areas* published by the Government of Palestine in 1934, p. 15 f.; 'Arif al-'Arif, *Ta'rīkh Bīr as-Sab'*, 1934, pp. 77 ff. The Terābīn still inhabit that region.

² PEF. Map XI, M.m.

³ 'Arrāba PEF. Map XI, M.m.

⁴ Maghāra, PEF. Map XI, M.m.

⁵ Sīlet eḍ Ḍahr, PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁶ Probably Burqa, PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁷ PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁸ PEF. Map XI, M.n.

onlooker. It is built artistically and is well worth seeing. The inhabitants of both monastery and town were massacred on the occasion of the caliph el-Ma'mūn's halting at this city, when he came up from Egypt on his way to Tarsūs and the Qara Görgis (Qara Küfüz). Ever since that time no monks live in this monastery. It lies in ruins.

In the neighbourhood of this monastery is the 'House of Yahya' in Beit Sabastya. The townlet is called after this blessed shrine. At the time of Ḥazret-i Yahya—peace be on him—there was a tyrant, who intended to marry his own daughter. He wanted a *fetva* from Yahya, who did not give it to him, fo. 88^v stating that 'according to our religion, God had forbidden' [such a union]. l. 15

Therefore, and [for the statement] that the Virgin Maryam had given birth to a fatherless male child, Yahya was put to death whilst praying in this Monastery of Sabastya. His head was sent to the accursed [king] to Damascus, while his noble body was kept by the Greeks in a marble sarcophagus in this monastery. They had him buried according to their time-honoured customs.

Later on, the tribes of Behije and Hinādi of Alexandria in Egypt deserted their king Philopater and came to [settle in] Acre under the protection of Spain. Here they remained for two hundred years, living and increasing. Now because of the disturbances under the Greek Ptolemies, these Behije and Hinādi people had taken the fortress of Acre from the western infidels of Malta, holding it in possession as independent lords (*beyler*). They abandoned their Arab religion and embraced Christianity. Ever since that time fo. 88^v l. 20 the Greeks used to come to visit the body of Yahya once a year, presenting their votive offerings to the attending monks. In their greed to appropriate the votive offerings presented there, some of these Maltese pilgrims took the above-mentioned town of Sabastya by surprise. They removed the body of Yahya, the prophet, to Acre, where it was laid in a richly adorned sarcophagus.

They instituted a sanctuary under the name of San Juan, and, finding the skeleton of the donkey of 'Īsa in Ramle, brought it thither. Acre was made a shrine for pilgrimages by them, so that all Christians would visit it with their votive offerings. Thus they used to receive riches equal to several years' revenue of Egypt. They lived in Acre in this way until the time of el Melik ez Zāhir.

[Fo. 88^v, ll. 24–9 omitted.]

[The following is mentioned in connexion with the skeleton of Ezra (and not 'Īsa) in vol. III, p. 124 (er-Ramle)]:

'During the reign of the ruler of Egypt, el Melik el Kāmil, the Spaniards and other Christians reconquered Jerusalem. Yet they did not dare to lay hands upon the tomb of 'Uzair (Ezra) though they have exhumed the bones of his donkey and taken them

away. At present the two forelegs of the said donkey are kept in a box within an 'etui' richly adorned with jewels in the Treasury of the Emperor of Austria. The hindlegs, however, are . . . in Rome, Italy. The rest of the skeleton is buried near 'Uzair.

When Jerusalem fell for the first time into the hands of the Franks, the Knights of Malta seized the opportunity and stole the body of Yaḥya from the village of Sabastya, near Nāblus. They carried it to their headquarters at the Fortress of Qara Kürfüz near Tarsūs. Seeing that there they would have no peace from the Moslems they went (with the body) to Rhodes. . . .

The felicitous head of Yaḥya, however, is placed at present on a golden tray, under the ground, in the centre of the Omayyad Mosque in the fortress of Damascus. In A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395-6) Timūr Lenk had the shrine opened and visited it.'

The year of its (Rhodes) fall [A.H. 929-A.D. 1522-3]¹ answers to the word
fo. 88^v فتحنا *fataḥtumā*. Sultān Soliman took it with a mighty power, at the said
l. 30 date, when they—at the date mentioned above—had sent the body of Yaḥya immediately to Malta. The remainder of the force fled from Rhodes to settle in Malta, where they built a strong fortress like the 'Rampart of Alexander' (*sedd-i Iskender*). Please God that its decline be approaching! For their stay in whatever country did never exceed a period of two hundred years. They, too, knowing that within a short time Malta would fall, have built it up in their precaution against a new order of things. During my stay in Germany this was related to me by monks.

In short, the respect shown to Malta by seven kings, seven margraves (*bān*),
fo. 88^v forty dukes (*hersek*), one 'Primus Maris' (*baḥer prīmū*), and an honourable
l. 35 czar, that is, by the whole of Christendom, is because of the noble body of Yaḥya, whom they call San Juan. For this reason they come to its aid, hold it in estimation, and paint one arm of Yaḥya on their banners and flags, carrying them about. . . . But if they should go there with six ships they would carry off a rich booty.

Even at present the infidels of Malta boast about the body of Yaḥya. The truth about their having stolen it from Sabastya (as already mentioned), has been set down in the Greek Chronicles. It has also been noted by Yaḥya Tshlebi, one of the poets of the Sultān Urkhān, the Ghāzi, in his chronicle *tevārīkh-i tuḥfa*.

Muezzin-Zādé, who was kept prisoner in Malta for forty-seven years [relates about it as follows:]

'I have seen it with my own eyes. There is a marble sarcophagus of the length of a man. It is covered with a lead lid. His (i.e. St. John's) body is
fo. 88^v lying in that sarcophagus. His blessed knees are bent. He has no head. It
l. 40 is an imposing body. Under it fine sand is spread. Once a year the monks attending to it open the lid of the sarcophagus. They anoint that holy body

with dark, saturated salt water. I was the prisoner of that priest, and used to hold the golden basin containing the salt water. "You wild Turk", he would address me, "touch it [and see] whether your Mohammed is so soft." But out of tact I would not touch it. Yet whenever they rubbed his holy body with the salt water, the priest would thrust his finger into it.'

'Once it was the Day of Khizr Ilyās (St. George's Day, 23rd April). He took me with him to look at the sarcophagus. Blood was issuing from the blessed neck. "See", he said, "on this very day the Jews have killed this prophet in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Therefore his blood is flowing to-day." So I asked him, "Signore, where is his blessed head?" He answered, fo. 88^v "Damashq[d]a" ([in] Damascus). Only then did I become aware [of the fact] l. 45 that the body of Yahya was with them.'

Such was the statement given under solemn oath by the imprisoned Muezzin Zādé Tshelebi, who witnessed to that, stating, 'I have seen it with my own eyes'.

Even now the blood of Yahya still stains a white stone in the 'House of Ḥazret-i Yahya' (which I visited) in Sabastya, in the northern part of the said monastery, where Ḥazret-i Yahya was put to death. Once a year, on the Feast of el-Khizr, that blood would overflow, submerge those cells and rooms, soiling and covering them. Witness was borne to this fact by some people of the town and by some saintly sheikhs (lit.: *ahl-i karāmāt* i.e. wonder-working). I, fo. 89^r myself, have seen some blood poured on a hard rock. It was ruby-coloured. l. 1 Yet, as it was not then the feast of el-Khizr, I could not discern whether it was real blood. However, it was the blood of Yahya, and resembled that of human and animal beings to a most evident and manifest degree.

Opposite this Monastery of the Blood of Yahya, at a cannon's range to the east of it, is the village of *Şarapetye* (Sarepta), also situated on a hill. It has a hundred houses and is [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. Again, opposite it rises the Tekye of Sheikh Sha'le on an ascending slope, like a fortress.¹ The sheikh used to worship in this convent during the day-time, and in the dark fo. 89^r night he would gather his dervishes around him, when he would begin to l. 5 lecture to them without using any torches or lights. His holy talk would illuminate his holy assembly until the morning. They therefore call him Sheikh Sha'le. He is a high[ly honoured] Lord (*ülū sulṭān*) and his is a flourishing shrine.

I visited it and was honoured by kissing the hand of his descendant, the present Sheikh Şun'ullah, and of being blessed by him.

¹ Alt, 'Ein vergessenes Heiligtum des Propheten Elias', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. XLVIII, (1925), pp. 393-7. [S.]

From vol. iii, p. 105.

DESCRIPTION OF ACRE

This is of strong, firm, ancient 'build'. The first one to build it was a Christian contemporary of Yaḥya. Before A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4) the King of Spain rebuilt it and made it a great harbour for Jerusalem.

At that epoch this Acre was exceedingly populous and prosperous. It had up to seven hundred convents and three hundred khans and baths. The ships transporting pilgrims to Jerusalem made it more prosperous from year to year.

p. 106 The sultān Yūsuf Ṣalāḥu-dīn (Saladin), who was minister of the Mamlūks in Egypt, in order to expel the Crusaders who were occupying this site, first conquered Damietta from them and then proceeded to Maṣṣūra. Meanwhile his lord, Nūru-d-dīn, died as martyr in Damascus. So he became independent king of Egypt. With an army as large as the sea he arrived at Jerusalem and conquered it from the Franks in forty days, and destroyed its citadel from the very foundation.

After the time of Saladin a council was held during the reign of el Melik eḏ Zāhir Baybars, because 'as long as Acre is in the hands of the Franks they will certainly try to reconquer Jerusalem'. On this consideration the fortress of Acre was besieged by an army, which neither sea nor land could hold. It was besieged with seven hundred ships from the sea side and from the land. For seven years they 'stayed beneath' the fortress. They planted [in the meantime] vineyards, took wives unto themselves, and children were born to them. Yet, nevertheless, they were unable to take the fortress of Acre.

One night, eḏ Zāhir Baybars was told in his dream: 'Unless the Sheikh Ābdīn of Aleppo comes [to your help], this fortress cannot be taken'. Eḏ Zāhir at once sent somebody to him with a letter of credentials. The man arrived at his destination. Whilst he was handing the letter to the Sheikh, who then happened to be performing his ritual ablutions, an eye of the Sheikh 'suffered martyrdom'. The man, who had just arrived, was astonished. But the Sheikh told him: 'The fortress will be taken instantly'. Taking off his shoes he then threw them into the air.

Then he addressed the man again: 'Go to el Melik eḏ Zāhir, give him my salutations, and let his warriors be strong. We, too, in the unseen world, whilst taking part in the fight beneath that fortress, have lost a small, valueless eye of ours'. He then put his dead eye into the man's bag and sent him back to eḏ Zāhir.

Afterwards, when the messenger got back to the fortress, he found the citadel razed to the ground and completely ruined. That is to say, the moment when he had handed over the letter to the Sheikh the pair of shoes thrown by the Sheikh into the air came and hit the fortress walls, which trembled greatly. Thus was brought about the destruction and ruin of all its foundations, together with some round and square towers of the castle walls, which sunk into the ground. Now, my dear (reader), the miracles of the saints are real truth. It behoves one not to deny the hidden things, for our holy books of faith state themselves that the miracles of the saints are true.

The noble eye of the Sheikh 'Ābdīn, which 'suffered martyrdom', is still kept in an 'etui' profusely adorned with jewels in the treasury of the richly illuminated mausoleum of el Melik eḏ Zāhir at Damascus. However, I have not seen it myself.

Thus happened the conquest of the fortress of Acre. Although later on Acre passed into the hands of the Franks, yet it did not remain theirs for a long period. When the Ayyūbid el Melik el Kāmil ruled over Egypt he had some slight repairs carried out and a wing (?) (*gal'a qōlu*) of the fortress erected.

Whilst Acre was still in the possession of Sultān el Ghaurī of the Circassian dynasty, its inhabitants offered their submission to Sultān Selim I in A.H. 921 (A.D. 1515-16) and during his journey to Egypt handed over the fortress to him.

At present it forms part of the province of Syria and of the District of Şafad. Its p. 107 public revenues are 'farmed' for three hundred purses. The Governor occupies a high rank and has a number of troops at his disposal. There remain another hundred purses for the Lord of Acre.

The town of Şafad is a day's journey from it, while Jerusalem is three days' journey off. It is the port of both cities.

There is a judge-substitute, a chief excise officer, a customs officer, and the officer commanding the Janissaries of Syria. Yet there is no office of the *ket-khuda* of the *sipāhis*. However, there is a *duzdār* and a *Sheikhu-l-Islām*. There is no trace of Nobles and Notables whatever, as all inhabitants are boatmen or some sort of merchants.

In the khan at the 'head' of the harbour are the ambassadors of seven kings, where they have taken up their abode.

THE CITADEL OF THE FORTRESS OF ACRE

It is an old square fort, without a mole, situated on an even and sandy beach, at the end of a bay, on the shore of the Mediterranean. The fort has five storeys. Every wall of it is twenty yards wide, one row being built with cement and tiles (*tegula*) the other row consisting of well-dressed square ashlar. Between each of the fivefold walls is a moat, fifty yards wide. Altogether there are five moats, through which the water of the Mediterranean flows. It has altogether seven large gates. Its circumference measures nine thousand paces. Gates and walls, however, have fallen into ruin and are covered with dust. In the spacious fort are orchards with fig and mulberry trees, yet there is no trace of its being inhabited.

Qoja Lāla Mustafa Pāsha, a minister of Soliman the Magnificent, has built at the south side of this fort on the seashore a square, towerlike, small fortress, eight hundred paces in circumference. Its gate gives to the west. There the *duzdār* lives with the garrison. Seven long (range) cannons with all the requisite ammunition, overlook the harbour. Inside are granaries, water cisterns, and the Mosque of Soliman the Magnificent.

There are about one thousand graves of various forms (some being hidden by reeds) outside, in the suburbs.

The finest building is the so-called Ambassadors' Khān of Sinān Pāsha at the 'head' of the harbour. In fact, it is stronger and better fortified than even the fortress itself. The adjoining Mosque of Sinān Pāsha, though of small dimensions, has a very large attendance. Yet there are few shops (at Acre). Anything of any value can only be had at the Ambassadors' Khān.

Outside the city is a public bath of moderate dimensions. Its interior has a pleasant odour, as its floor is laid out with asphalt. This bath is, however, day by day encroached

p. 108 upon by sand(dunes). Whilst living in this city Alexander the Great had a talisman made against the sand dunes. The said talisman being nowadays no more effective, the sand dunes are enfolding the city.

Near the public bath is a ruined palace on the shore, overlooking the sea. With the exception of Ayaslogh (Hagios Logos?) and Aindinjiq one would look in vain for similar remarkable ruins. Far and wide it is known as the Palace of Alexander. . . .

p. 113 In the sands amidst the ruins of the citadel of Acre there is a low-domed, cosy 'nest' of moderate dimensions—the *Shrine of Ṣāleḥ*, peace be on him. This fortress has prospered and has been inhabited only through the blessings of this shrine. Once the unbelievers took this fortress and tried to exhume the body of the saint, in order to transport it to the great city of Italy, the legendary city of *Qizil Elma* (= Rome). But a painful cry was heard out of the depth of the tomb. All those who had put their hand to it died. They died from this cry and were buried near the palace of Alexander. . . .

A MIRACLE OF ṢĀLEḤ

Ṣāleḥ was sent to the people of Thamūd to call them to the right faith. Yet no one of them would accept 'Islām', though they were asking him daily to perform a miracle. Some of them, requesting a manifest sign of him, said to him: 'Get us a she-camel out of that barren rock over there that we may perceive it ourselves. Let her become pregnant without coming into contact with a male camel. Let her give birth to a young camel, so that her milk may be sufficient for our sustenance. Only then we shall believe you.' Instantly the prophet Ṣāleḥ opened his hands and prayed. And by the will of Allah—exalted be He—that barren rock split asunder and a she-camel appeared. Within a short time she gave birth to a tiny, lovely camel. These

p. 114 camels were grazing in that desert for exactly thirty years. All the people of Thamūd were maintained by her milk.

Yet, nevertheless, none of them would come and tell him 'O Ṣāleḥ, you are a wonderful, ideal master and sorcerer, who have got us a camel out of the reddish rock'. Nor did anybody believe in him. Finally they killed the she-camel.

On the prayers of the prophet Ṣāleḥ the rock split in twain again, and the young camel entered it and was lost to sight. I myself have seen that place and have looked at it whilst on my pilgrimage, on the road of Damascus. It is called the 'Rock of the She-Camel'. It is a reddish rock, which lifts up its summit to the perihelion of the sky.

The places where the old camel appeared and the younger one disappeared, respectively, are as visible as if a master sculptor had worked for centuries at it to embellish it!

On both sides of it is a narrow pass. Since olden times there was from rock to rock a gate in this rocky region, forming the frontier between Syria and Ḥejāz. That gate is still visible in the above-mentioned rock.

Previously no camel could pass this place. Whilst passing they would hear a shouting and die of its noise. At last the Syrian pilgrims said: 'We cannot have our camels die in great numbers like this'. So when they used to arrive at the 'Rock of the She-Camel' they all would shout together 'Allah, Allah' and escape at the cry. Firing some hundred thousand shots from their rifles, and the *emīru-l-ḥajj* also firing six cannons between these rocks, they would make the camels pass with a great noise of confused war-cries.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV

Some believers, monotheistic holders of the true faith, told me by word of mouth, 'I have heard the voice of the she-camel of the prophet Ṣāleḥ'. I myself, however, did not hear any such voice whilst passing there.

When the camel of the prophet Ṣāleḥ—peace be on him—had disappeared within this rock, he received a divine order: 'Go to Syria' (*rūḥ ila-sh-Shām*). When Ṣāleḥ had left for Syria, Allah — exalted be He — sent down his punishment in thunder and lightning on the people of Thamūd. At a heavenly voice the gall-bladders of all the people of Thamūd burst and the ground covered them (lit.: their residence was made to be under the ground). Their rock-hewn cave-dwellings were ruined. Even nowadays the lintels of their house-doors, the rock-hewn ceilings, their boxes and cupboards are sunk into the ground topsy-turvy. When the Syria pilgrims pass here the fear of God increases within their hearts, being seized with trembling out of fear of the divine anger.

Here, that is to say at Acre, is the private and general shrine of Ṣāleḥ, peace be on p. 115 him. In fact there is no large shrine, though a keeper and dervishes are attached to it. The *turbé* is slowly being filled with sand. The people of the city gather yearly here, to 'demand help from the spirituality of Ṣāleḥ'. On this occasion they carry out several hundreds of thousands of loads of sand on their backs, each of them making several journeys, thus cleaning the mausoleum of Ṣāleḥ. With the intention of doing my duty I carried sand on my back several times, and threw it into the sea. We took leave after having recited the noble Sūra of Yā-Sin (xxxvi) for the soul of the Prophet Ṣāleḥ.

VISIT TO THE SANCTUARY OF ADAM

Peace be on him

When the pure man before God, our ancestor Adam, was ploughing in the plains of Ḥaurān, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, he came several times to Acre. At present this sub-district of Ḥaurān (when measured with our paces) is a six days' journey off. The site where Adam used to pray at Acre is in a rock-carved alcove in the antechamber of his revered sanctuary, situated amidst verdant meadows.

THE SHRINE OF 'AIN EL BAQAR

(i.e. 'Spring of the Kine')

Outside the fortress of Acre, at a distance of one thousand paces to the east, amidst verdant meadows, there is a sweet, clear water spring, to which one descends by a staircase of forty stone steps. As some prophets have descended into this spring and have washed themselves, any sick man coming to this spring and having a bath in it is healed. The inhabitants of Coelesyria and Acre believe that the Prophet and 'Alī once came here. If a weak and feeble ox is watered from this spring for seven consecutive days, it will recover, be it even at the point of death, and it will become fat and sturdy. In Arabic they call a stout slow person 'an ox of Acre' (*iṭr 'Akka*).

THE SHRINE OF THE TWO LARGE SPRINGS OF BLESSING

There are two springs near 'Ain el Baqar. Their water disappears on the spot where they gush forth. By Allah's order the first one tastes as sweet as milk, whereas the other exhales a different smell. According to the eternal laws of the Creator each water

p. 116 has its taste, though it has no smell. Only these two Springs of the Blessings have a smell, so that the Lord of All has made it so sweet that he who drinks a drop thereof would feel as if he had found new life, his brains becoming 'perfumed' by it. According to the saying of the sages, this water has 70 peculiar properties. Anybody bathing in it will become immune from all diseases. Even I, after having washed myself in it, in the hope to be healed, have started to mount my horse without stirrup, and have become so lively and strong that even youths are unable to twist my hand.

DESCRIPTION OF THE 'TWO SMALLER BLESSINGS'

These two are a spring of living water near by. One descends on a wide staircase to it. Its taste resembles the sweetness of the water of the Spring of Siloam in Jerusalem. Christians and members of Frankish nations mostly wash themselves here, as it is believed that 'Christ washed himself in this Spring'. Jews visit it, too, and drink from it in the belief that 'Moses had washed himself here'. They frequent the spring very much.

In the Chronicles called *منظره انهار وعيون وبئر كرماب* (the Sight of Rivers, living and hot Springs) the following occur about the origin and names of these two blessed springs: 'The Apostle Muḥammad was charmed by some sorcerers. Yet by divine inspiration the Prophet came on business to Bostra near Damascus. There was a monk called Baḥirā who told him on his arrival: 'O Muḥammad, verily there is a charm on you. Do not hesitate, but go directly to the two springs called the "Two Blessings" at Acre. Moses entered one of them and was safe from Pharaoh's charm. He then rescued the Children of Israel from Egypt. Christ entered the other one and was saved from the hands of the Israelites, and then ascended into heaven. You, too, have to enter those springs and to wash yourself to become immune from the charm of the Bani Quraish. O Muḥammad, there are many springs at Acre. Enter whichever of them tells you "I am the Spring of the Two Blessings of Paradise" and wash yourself.' The Prophet, acting in the manner indicated, entered the water, pronouncing the name of Allah, and washed himself therein. After having been (ritually) purified by these two Springs of Blessings, he ascended a rock and performed his prayers. The trace of his head, which touched the rock, is still quite visible there.

IN EULOGY OF THE TWO DATE-PALMS¹

These are two date-palms east of Acre, which stretch their crowns to the perihelion of the sky. Each stretches itself three times to the sky, with an intertwined and very crooked stem, like a camel's neck.

According to the elders of Acre this crooked shape of these palm trees is due to the fact that they used to bow their crowns to the great prophets.

Yet, according to another version, when Mary gave birth to a fatherless boy, hiding herself from the people, and whilst coming from Nāblus with 'Īsa, she gathered fresh dates from these two palm trees, which until then were withered, and she dwelt under them.

¹ With regard to these palm-trees cf. also Stephan, 'Note on the definite article in two Palestinian place-names' in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, 1933, p. 233, n. 3 [S.].

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV

God forbid, yet the noble Verse of Sūra XIX (v. 25) viz.: '... fresh dates, fit for p. 117 gathering; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye ...' is related by a story to have been inspired with regard to these two date palms.

Certain *'ulema* of Acre have it that the twists in the stems of these palm trees are a sign of their having prostrated before God Almighty. One is male and the other female. They yield twenty bunches of dates each year. If the Franks could get a single date of them, they would readily pay a high price for them, in order to get blessed thereby. A sick man who sleeps for three consecutive days under them will recover.

Whilst 'Īsa was sleeping in the shadow of a palm grove, lying on His back, He hit a stone with the blessed heel of His felicitous foot. The trace of His foot is still visible. People fill those cavities with rosewater and rub their faces and eyes with it. Christians however, would fill it in squat, round, long-necked bottles, and take them as far as Europe.

Being an ancient town Acre has many shrines. But as I was too busy with the journey, and had other occupations, I do not intend to write about all of them, contenting myself with so much.

In exactly two months we collected in the city of Acre sixteen hundred purses of money. Then we left it together with the troops 'going down' eastwards. After having passed for four hours in the land of Canaan over mountains planted with olive groves, we arrived at the village of Beni Wāma, in the *ṣanjaq* of Şafad. It is a prosperous *Tīmāni* village and the seat of a *ze'āmet*. It has one hundred houses, a mosque, a *khān*, a public bath, and is situated amidst olive groves and mulberry plantations.

Going thence again eastwards, and passing over mountains, through olive groves, we reached the village of Wādi-l-Lēmūn.

(To be continued)

Translated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

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